Verb Usage in the Narratives of Six-Year-Old Bilingual Children

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Kaksikielisyys on Suomessa yhä yleistyvä ja monimuotoinen ilmiö. Kaksikielisiä lapsia on tutkittu suhteellisen vähän ja niin vanhemmat, opettajat kuin puheterapeutitkin tarvitsevat tietoa kaksikielisten lasten tavanomaisen kielenkehityksen piirteistä. Yhtenä tärkeänä kielenkäyttötaitona kerronta edellyttää hyvin kehittyneitä kognitiivisia, kommunikatiivisia ja sosiaalisia taitoja. Lisäksi lasten kerrontataitojen tiedetään ilmentävän kielelliskulttuuriseen yhteisöön sopeutumista sekä ennustavan sosiaalisten taitojen kehittymistä ja koulumenestystä. Tutkimalla kerrontaa saadaankin kattavaa ja arvokasta tietoa lasten kielellisistä ja kielenkäytön taidoista, esimerkiksi sanastosta. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin kerronnan avulla lähemmin verbejä, jotka ovat oleellisia tekojen, tapahtumien ja asiantilojen ilmaisemiseksi. Verbisanaston niukkuus ja yksipuolisuus saattaa viitata kielellisen kehityksen poikkeavuuteen. Verbisanasto on myös yksi niistä kielen piirteistä, joita tutkimalla voidaan erottaa kaksikielisen lapsen hallitseva kieli.

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkasteltiin 18 kielellisesti tyypillisesti kehittyneen kuusivuotiaan kaksikielisen esikoululaisen verbien käyttöä sarjakuvakerronnassa. Kaikki lapset osasivat vähintään suomea ja englantia. Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä käytettiin M.A.K. Hallidayn systeemis-funktionaalista kieliteoriaa. Kertomukset kerättiin äänitteinä englanniksi ja suomeksi. Litteroiduista teksteistä tutkittiin, millaisilla verbiprosesseilla lapset kuvasivat kertomuksen tapahtumia ja kuinka monipuolista verbisanastoa he käyttivät. Kertomuksia tarkasteltiin sekä käytetyn kielen että lapsen sukupuolen perusteella. Lisäksi sukupuolten välisiä eroja tulkittiin tilastollisesti khiin neliötestillä ja kielten välisiä eroja sekä khiin neliötestillä että Wilcoxonin testillä.

Tutkimushenkilöt toteuttivat kertomuksissaan eniten materiaalisia ja vähiten mentaalisia verbiprosesseja ja suurin osa lapsista käytti molemmissa tarinoissaan viittä eri prosessityyppiä. Englanniksi ja suomeksi kerrottujen tarinoiden välillä ei ollut tilastollisesti merkittävää eroa eri verbiprosessityyppien suhteellisessa toteutumisessa tai verbiprosessien lukumäärässä. Kaiken kaikkiaan verbisanasto oli kuitenkin monipuolisempaa suomenkielisissä kuin englanninkielisissä kertomuksissa. Kuusivuotiaana kaksikieliset eivät eronneet verbien käytössä merkitsevästi toisistaan sukupuolen perusteella, mutta yksilötasolla oli huomattavaa vaihtelua.

Tutkimuksen lapsijoukko oli otoksena suhteellisen pieni ja taustoiltaan vaihteleva. Tulokset kuvaavat kuitenkin suuntaa-antavasti kuusivuotiaiden kaksikielisten verbien käytön pääpiirteitä sarjakuvakerronnassa. Kielellisesti tyypillisesti kehittyneiden kaksikielisten lasten verbien käyttöä tulisi tutkia suuremmilla otoksilla ja tarkasti kontrolloiduilla ja eri-ikäisillä tutkimusryhmillä useissa eri viestintätilanteissa, jotta verbien käytön kehitystä ja sen yleispiirteitä pystyttäisiin hahmottamaan. Tietoa voisi käyttää apuna kaksikielisten lasten kielellisen kehityksen tukemisessa ja kielellisten häiriöiden tunnistamisessa.

Avainsanat: kaksikielisyys, kielenkehitys, kerrontataidot, systeemis-funktionaalinen kieliteoria, kielen semanttiset metafunktiot, verbiprosessit, verbien käyttö

1 INTRODUCTION

Bilingualism worldwide is more of a norm than an exception, especially in children. Despite the commonness of this multifaceted phenomenon, parents, educators and speech therapist lack detailed information that would help them to differentiate between signs of language impairment and typical bilingual language development. Furthermore, research on bilingualism has typically focused on Romance or Germanic languages and bilingualism connected to Baltic-Finn Finnish has been studied considerably less (Silvén 2010, 142). In order to gain better working tools to support language development in bilingual children in the future, more research on this subject is required.

My approach to this study combines the views and practices of English philology and logopedics. In this study, I will analyse the verb usage of 18 six-year-old bilingual preschool children who know at least Finnish and English by using a cartoon–strip narrative task, which is an established method in language assessment in logopedics (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 33, 198). The cartoon strip used in this study is *Frog, where are you?* by Mercer Mayer (1969) generally known as the frog-story (cf. chapters 2.3.4 and 3.2). Narrations are a rich source of information and an important subject of study. They are perceived to be a primal linguistic vehicle shaping the way we interact with each other and the way we experience the surrounding world, our own past and even our identity (Bruner 2010, 45). Indeed, narrations such as stories are always produced from personal experience in a cultural context (Bruner 2010, 46).

Narratives are verbal descriptions of imaginative or real life series of events (Suvanto & Mäkinen 2011, 63). Minimally a narrative is a sequence of two temporally ordered clauses (Labov 1976, 360). As we know, language and how we use it, is an essential part of culture. How children narrate therefore also tells about their socialisation in the prevailing socio-cultural environment (Nelson 1996, 183–185; Verhoeven 2010, 452).

The narrative skills of children should be carefully observed because they have been identified as playing an important role in predicting literary and social skills and academic

achievement in both monolingual and bilingual children (Lyytinen 2004, 59 review; Uccelli & Páez 2007, 225, 226 review). The ability to narrate is, in fact, indicative of overall cognitive and linguistic knowledge and communicative and pragmatic competence; therefore, narratives can be used to measure language skills in both typically developed or aged populations as well as clinical populations (Botting 2002, 1–2; Berman & Slobin 1994a, 15; Strömquist & Verhoeven 2010a, 8–9). Verbs, again, are perceived as the most important word class of a language (Aitchison 2008, 113). Different types of verbs entail meanings that demonstrate a full range of human experience (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 170; Shore 2012, 164). Narratives are a valid means for studying verbs, because verbs and their constituent companions serve a focal function in creating the world of the narrative and its events (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 215–216, 222).

Studying bilingual children's verb usage in narratives sheds light on the bilingual children's typical language development. Furthermore, studying how bilingual children with typical language development use verbs in certain discourses such as narratives help us to discover norms, which in turn present us with means to discover how, for example, language impairments affect narration and verb usage.

1.1 The purpose of this study and research questions

There are few studies of verb usage in logopedics among Finnish speaking population and the verb usage of bilingual children who speak Finnish and English has not been studied previously. Information about typically developed bilingual children's verb usage is needed in order for us to begin to perceive the norms in bilingual language development, to better identify the challenges of acquiring two or more languages and finally to identify what constitutes as atypical language use in bilingual children.

In this study, I will analyse the verb usage of 18 six-year-old Finnish and English speaking bilingual preschool children in picture book cartoon strip narrations. Narratives are a valid

means to study the bilingual children's verb choices as narratives reflect cognitive, social and language skills and because verbs play an integral role in them (Botting 2002, 1–2; Berman & Slobin 1994a, 15; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 215–216, 222; Strömquist & Verhoeven 2010a, 8–9.). Verbs are important indicators of language skills also in the sense that the scarcity or one-sidedness of the verb lexicon may signify problems in language development (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 218–219 review). According to literature, one of the indicators of a bilingual person's dominant language is the larger number of different verbs in a speech extract (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 80). Thus, I will observe what verb processes the children deploy and in what quantities as they produce a story both in English and in Finnish. Additionally, I will analyse the diversity of the children's verb lexicons. Whether there are differences between the children's English and Finnish narrations and between the two genders will also be examined. The perspective of gender is included because men and women as well as already boys and girls are known to use language differently and also because speech and language disorders, such as SLI[1], are known to occur more often in boys than girls (e.g. Ervast & Leppänen 2010, 212; Swann 1992, 14–21). Differences between the English and Finnish narrations and between the two genders will be examined also statistically with chi-squared test and Wilcoxon's matched-pairs signed rank test.

The research questions are:

1) What verb processes do six-year-old bilingual children with typical language development use in depicting events in the stories they tell in English and in Finnish?
2) How versatile verb lexicons do the children produce in their narratives?
3) Are there differences in verb usage between the children's English and Finnish narrations and between the two genders?

[1] Specific language impairment (SLI) is a language disorder that delays the mastery of language skills in children who have no hearing loss, low nonverbal intelligence nor neurological damage (Ahonen & Lyytinen 2004, 81–84 review)

1.2 Hypothesis

Typically stories should contain at least a some kind of a beginning, a middle and an end, and generally semantically different verbs categories (process types) are used in different episodes of the story (cf. chapter 2.3.4). I will not study the occurrence of these story phases in the bilingual children's narratives, but the information about the concurrence of particular process types and thematic episodes of the story, and additionally the information about how children's narratives develop implicate that a good variety of different process types can be expected to appear in the texts of six-year-old bilingual children. My hypothesis is that the majority of the children will use different semantic verb categories in different proportions depending on the language they narrate in, because the majority of the bilingual children are reported to have begun to acquire one language earlier than the other and the appearance of different semantic verb categories in narratives is known to increase and evolve with age (cf. 3.1.1). I also presume the lexical diversity of the English and Finnish narratives to differ from each other, as the majority of the children are reported to have a dominant language. Further, I would expect slight differences between the overall performances of the two genders and fair variation between individuals.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this thesis relies largely on Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL). SFL is a theory developed by M.A.K. Halliday, his students and fellow researchers starting from the 1960's (Kress & Van Leuuven 2006, 1; Shore 2012, 134). It derives from the European functional tradition and follows largely the system-structure theory of the British linguist J. R. Firth incorporating also principles from the Danish structural linguist Hjelmslev and concepts from literary critics and linguist of the Prague School (Halliday 1985, xxvi–xxvii; Shore 2012, 132–134). I will also refer to other theorists and researchers that have based their works on SFL. One of them, Susanna Shore (1992), has conducted a functional study of Finnish language,

and further on Finnish logopedics researchers, for example Anna-Maija Korpijaakko-Huuhka, have capitalised on SFL-theory and Shore's aspects of it in studying individuals and populations of different ages.

SFL perceives language as a multidimensional totality constructing and mirroring a person's perception of reality and the social processes a person engages in (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 24–25; Kress & Van Leuuven 2006, 1). Language is a sign based semiotic system firmly rooted in social interaction (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 29–31). Words are devoid of absolute semantic value; they only gain their meaning based on their function in a specific clausal syntactic structure, and in given social situation and cultural context (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 29; Kress & Van Leuuven 2006, 3; Shore, 1992, 19). The core function of language is to convey, remodel and create cultural meanings and the ways that enable us to discuss about the world we live in (Halliday 1987, 139, 213–214; Shore 1992, 20–21).

As a methodological resource SFL provides researchers with working tools that enable the evaluation of a person's abilities considering different levels of linguistic features as well as the fulfilment of different rhetoric functions of language in everyday situations (Armstrong 1995, 87; Armstrong 2005, 14–143). It enables speech therapist and other clinicians to perceive the ways in which a person is capable of conveying meaning rather than identify only the undeveloped or impaired communicative skills (Armstrong 2001, 143; Armstrong 2005, 142; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2012, 601). Overall, SFL can be applied to examine the large questions that have inspired this study as well, namely: the nature and function of language; how a child develops language; how language varies according to the user and according to the function it is being used; and the many aspects of the role of language in the community and the individual — in bilingual individuals for one (Halliday 1985, xxix–xxx).

The framework of this study also relies on theories of child language development and bilingualism. I will begin the theory chapter by discussing bilingualism in general and its definition

in literature and move on to child language development and to the systemic functional views of verbs and their function and occurrence in child narratives. I will also introduce some relevant studies on narratives and on verb usage.

2.1 Definitions and aspects of bilingualism

Bilingualism is a multifaceted phenomenon and the semantic definitions of the term as well as the terminology vary widely. I will discuss bilingualism here strictly as an individual characteristic disregarding its socio-political aspects. I will restrict the definition of bilingualism to refer only to languages with different names without addressing the problem of what constitutes as a separate linguistic system in a sense of dialect and diglossia. Moreover, in this study, the focus will solely be on spoken languages excluding other communicational modalities such as sign language (cf. Steinberg, Nagata & Aline 2001, 219).

Since the beginning of twentieth century the concept of bilingualism has become more fine-grained as scholars have introduced new terminology to categorise types of bilingualism more precisely (Mackey 2004, 26). For example, Li Wei (2004, 6–7) has identified 37 different terms describing a variety of bilinguals in English literature of bilingualism. As an umbrella term, bilingualism portrays someone who has command of two languages. In Europe, the terms means also people who interchangeably use up to four or more languages and have varying degrees of proficiency in them (Mackey 2004, 27; Tabouret-Keller 2013, 745; Wei 2004, 7). Another commonly used term for knowledge of multiple languages is *multilingualism*. This term is also applied to refer to alternating use of two or more languages in the same text or spoken discourse (cf. University of Tampere 2013). To maintain clarity, I will use the term bilingualism in this study to refer to individuals who know two or more languages.

If we consider the question of origin, as in when bilingualism begins, the strictest definition, so to speak, is *simultaneous bilingualism*, meaning that the person has begun to acquire

the two languages from the onset of one's language development (Wei 2004, 6–7). The loosest labelling is *successive bilingualism* referring to a person whose second language is acquired at some stage after the first language has begun to develop (*ibid*.). A theoretical distinction between Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA) and Bilingual Second Language Acquisition (BSLA) is hence often relevant as is the labelling of the languages according to their order of acquisition, typically as follows: L1, L2, L3 and so on (cf. Genesee 2004, 327; de Houwer 2004, 223; Verhoeven 2010, 435). There is a range of *competence levels* under the tern bilingualism from someone with insufficient knowledge of one of the languages, for example a person knowing only odd words or phrases in a second language, to someone with near native control over more than one language (Wei 2004, 7). As a term *language competence* includes both the grammatical-linguistic competence and the sociolinguistic competence which in reality are largely intertwined. The former means the knowledge of grammatical rules and the latter denotes pragmatic skills and mastery of social norms (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 87–88).

Besides origin and competence, bilingualism can be described based on the *function* of the languages and by *attitudes* towards the languages a person knows (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 81–89, for a study on attitudes and language use cf. e.g. Gardner-Chloros & McEntee-Atalianis 2005). On one hand, attitude reflects the speakers' own views of how the speakers identify themselves with the languages or the language communities or cultures (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 88). Additionally, attitude entails how well or how effortlessly the speakers feel they are able to use the languages (*ibid*.). On the other hand, attitude also includes the aspect of how the community a person lives amongst reacts to the languages a person uses or how good they asses the speaker's language skills to be (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 81, 88). With function again, it is a question of what the language is or can be used for by the person and also what sort of a role the language plays in the person's overall behaviour (Mackey 2004, 27–28; Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 81).

As a worldwide phenomenon bilingualism in children can further be observed from the perspective of the pressure, or on the other hand, the prerequisites to acquire two or more languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 75–80). Skutnabb-Kangass differentiates four groups with different premises and prospects to develop into bilingual individuals. *Elite bilinguals* for whom bilingualism is completely voluntary, children from *linguistic majorities* learning a minority language in former colonised countries, children from *bilingual families* and children from *linguistic minorities* learning the language of the majority population face different levels of internal and external pressures to achieve a command of multiple languages (*ibid.*). If children fail to become bilingual, the severity of personal and social consequences depends likewise upon the group they belong to (*ibid.*).

Types of child bilingualism can also be separated by the manner of acquisition, more specifically, by whether children acquire two or more languages as the natural means of everyday communication without formal teaching or whether they learn their second language at school trough formal teaching with limited opportunities to use the language elsewhere (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 95). These two types are undoubtedly simplifications and as such they entail numerous individual circumstantial variations of exactly how, where, when and with whom the languages are acquired and learned. A more extensive description of the crucial factors underlying the children's bilingualism is presented for example by Ellen Bialystok (cf. 2001, 1–20).

The choice of an appropriate definition of bilingualism should always rests upon the exact purpose it is used for (Skutnabb- Kangas 1983, 89). However, throughout this study, my own basic definition of bilingualism comes from Hassinen (2002, 405) and it describes a person who is able to use two or more languages to speak, understand speech and to think and later in life also to read and to write and switch languages with ease. Perfect knowledge of a language or equal knowledge of the languages is not expected (*ibid*.). Especially children have not reached the full potential of their language skills and in bilingual children "any language is partial at best"

(Bialystok 2001, 1). Indeed, if we think of competence and function, and disregard the notion of origin, it is possible for a person's mother tongue, the language a person knows best, even to change over time (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 12). In my opinion, if we want to define child bilingualism, it would also seem fitting to highlight the child's willingness and continuously developing skills to function and participate age-appropriately in each of the language communities although children often have little power over the discourse opportunities they are given and the environmental factors affecting their language acquisition. To conclude from this chapter, for an individual especially for a child, bilingualism is not a static attribute, but a dynamic ensemble of language skills and psychosocial state of affairs, which develops in a context of external demands and opportunities as well as in the context of internal motivators (cf. also Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 90).

The bilingual children chosen for this study were not an entirely uniform group, as will be exemplified in chapter 3.1.1. They came from different type of families and backgrounds and although all of them spoke two languages, some of them know even more. Some of the factors presented earlier in this chapter undoubtedly manifested themselves in somewhat different ways in these children. What they all had in common at the moment, however, was that they were preschoolers living in Finland with a prospect of entering school in Finland and growing up as members of Finnish society. This is representative of at least one part of the scope of bilingualism that educators as well as speech therapists today may well encounter.

2.1.1. Bilingualism in Finland

In Finland bilingualism has been a subject of discussion for long because of the political status of Swedish language and the existence of Swedish speaking minority population. Finland is constitutionally a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as its official languages. At the end of 2013 Swedish was spoken as a mother tongue by 5.30 per cent of the whole population (Statistics Finland 2014). Also Lappish, spoken by 0.04 per cent of the population by the end of 2013, has an

official language status in Finland (*ibid*.). As a part of Europe and the European Union, Finland has developed into a multicultural country. Since the 1980s immigration has been on the increase and during the past couple of years already 25 000–29 000 persons a year have immigrated into Finland (Väestöliitto 2014). At the end of 2013 the population of Finland had grown by 24 596 persons within the preceding twelve months, and 90 per cent of the new population had a mother tongue other than one of Finland's official languages (Statistics Finland 2014). Multilingual situations develop and languages come in contact continuously because of immigration and migration waves, existing regional language minorities and political settings (Tabouret- Keller 2013, 765). Moreover, children are affected by parents of different native tongues, extended families, temporary residence in another country, educational policies, and possibilities in early education, such as generalisation of language immersion programmes (Bialystok 2001, 6–7; Tabouret- Keller 2013, 765). Bilingualism, therefore, is a current matter that deserves increasing attention from parents, educators, speech therapists, health practitioners and researchers alike.

This study focuses on bilingual children who know at least Finnish and English. The latter can be described as a *world language* or *lingua franca*, which has a global role as an international medium of communication (Pahta 2004, 8). Also in Finland English is an appreciated and the most studied and used foreign language (Leppänen, Pitkänen-Huhta, Nikula, Kytölä, Törmäkangas et. al 2009, 73–77, 89–90, 111–115). English and Finnish languages represent different cultures and naturally differ in nature as having distinct phonetic systems, vocabularies and grammars. English belongs to the Indo-European language family, whereas Finnish is a member of the Uralic language family (Häkkinen 2001, 42–43). Research on bilingualism has typically focused on Romance or Germanic languages like English, but Finnish bilingual speakers have been studied relatively little and more research is required (Silvén 2010, 142).

2.2 How children learn a language

In this chapter, I will discuss how children learn their mother tongue and the skill of narrating that is an integral part of human interaction and important in organising information. I will also review literature on how bilingualism affects the language development in general and what differentiates the bilingual language acquisition from the monolingual language acquisition.

2.2.1 Learning how to mean and to narrate

The acquisition of a mother tongue or first language is not the same as merely learning words or clauses; in Halliday's words the acquisition on one's first language is learning how to mean (Halliday 1975, 5–6). A child will learn to use language with the growing understanding of what a person can do with language, and this can only happen in interaction with other human beings as the brain matures (*ibid*., 33; Leiwo 1986, 72). SFL presents seven early developmental functions of language, *instrumental*, *regulatory*, *interactional*, *personal*, *heuristic*, *imaginative* and *informative*, which involve using language as a means of expressing material needs, influencing and controlling other people, building and maintaining social rapport, developing and expressing individuality and identity, seeking information, organising the idea of reality, imagining and giving information (Halliday 1975, 18–21; Leiwo 1986, 70–71). At first children realise functions of language with sounds and prosody and later with lexicon and grammar (Halliday 1975, 18–32; for stages of typical language acquisition in more language specific detail in English cf. e.g. Steinberg, Nagata & Aline 2001, 3–49 and in Finnish cf. e.g. Lyytinen 2004, 48–66). These developmental functions of language are presumed to be universals of human culture (Halliday 1975, 33).

To learn their mother tongue pragmatically, semantically and syntactically children should have the opportunity to engage in different kinds of discourses, that is, to use the language for all its functions (Leiwo 1986, 70–72). Successful language acquisition also requires beneficial biological, psychological and environmental conditions (Leiwo 1986, 53). Similarly, to learn

another language well the opportunities to practise exchange of meaning between the self and the others should be extensive and the communal attitudes towards the other language and bilingualism should be favourable (Leiwo 1986, 153; Silvén 2010, 144–145). However, children who are learning two or more languages experience more variability in their language input than monolingual peers, and on average, bilingual children receive less input in each of their languages than monolingual children (Paradis 2010, 652). The input is also often unequally balanced between the languages and may be restricted to certain social rapports, contexts, discourse types and dialects (*ibid*.). These qualitative and quantitative variations of exposure are naturally sensitive to changes in family structure and close social community, child-care and schooling arrangements and residential environment (*ibid*.).

Cognitive development and social interaction go hand in hand in language acquisition (Halliday 1975, 139–140). As a good representative of cognitive, linguistic and social development, narration is an important skill in organising thought constructions, acquiring literacy and relating to peers and adults (Bliss & McCabe 2008, 162; Nelson 1996, 190; cf. also Renvall, Nickels & Davidson 2013, 657). Children are innately interested in human activities and interaction and even narrative skills start developing as early as in the pre-linguistic phase of language development (Bruner 1983, 70–88; Bruner 1990, 70–74; Suvanto 2012, 33). From very early on children have the ability to notice sequential orders in the events they have observed and distinguish unexpected events from regular ones (Bruner 1990, 78–80). The informative function of the language is the last one to start to develop, and this becomes noticeable also in the development of narrative skills (Halliday 1975, 20–21, Roininen 2014, 6). During the second year of children's lives actual narrative-like communication begins to emerge in interaction with the caregivers as they complete the children's single notions of personal and shared experiences of things or events into narratives (Bamberg 1987, 20–21 review; Lyytinen 2004, 57–58 review). At the age of three the children start narrating more independently and spontaneously with increasing length and detail, although their

narrations are not yet structurally well organised (cf. Berman & Slobin 1994b, 58–64; Lyytinen 2004, 56–59 review).

The qualitative development of narrative skills proceeds the fastest when children are four to five years old (Berman & Slobin 1994, 66–67; Suvanto 2012, 35; Verhoeven 2010, 434). It is argued to be around this age that the children begin to distinguish stories from other narrative genres for example descriptions, although they have not yet established the episodic form in their own stories (Shapiro & Hudson 1991, 961 review). A notable difference to the three-year olds, is the emergence of evaluative language indicating the development of theory of mind, which refers to the children's understanding of their own and others' mental states (Berman & Slobin 1994, 73; Nelson 1996, 296). In narrations this means that the children begin to perceive and note feelings and other frames of mind (Berman & Slobin 1994, 73).

It is usually not until the age of five that children manage to express events as sequentially organized narratives, and often at the age of six the story concepts have developed to be elaborate with more structural, linguistic and semantic complexity (Berman & Slobin 1994, 67; Liles 1993, 875 review; Shapiro & Hudson 1991, 960, 968). In their narrations, six-year-olds use the past tense, know how to advance the plot and are able to connect knowledge from their different experiences flexibly (Shapiro & Hudson 1991, 969–971). The coherence of the stories has evolved as the children now quite easily apply different conjunctions and ways of referencing, which means that they can identify things appropriately for example by using pronouns suitably to refer to nouns (Bliss & McCabe 2008, 164; Shapiro & Hudson 1991, 970; cf. also Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 220–221). The stories are already often organised around a problem and they contain consequences of the complicating actions (Liles 1993,871, 875 review). Six-year-olds also depict both the story setting and the motives of the characters and usually have an understanding of how precise information the listener requires in order to comprehend their narrative (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 219 review; Shapiro & Hudson 1991, 969). After this, narrative skills continue to develop

and advance for several years up to adulthood (Bruner 1990, 72–73). Even the narrations of nine-year-olds are still far from the mature level (Berman & Slobin 1994b, 75). In addition to the informative function, narrating requires the mastery of personal, heuristic and imaginative functions of language (Leiwo 1986, 71–72). All these functions become available together with the acquisition of the semiotic system of a language and essentially, it is the acquisition of core grammar and the elements of simple-clause structure that are the key factors in achieving the ability to produce a narrative construction (Bruner 1990, 77; Verhoeven 2010, 438).

Even if imaginative, stories are not context free, but always located in a cultural setting (Bruner 2010, 46). In narrations the cultural experiences are filtered into verbalised events through the choice of perspective and through the set of options provided by the particular language and inevitably by the individual's knowledge of the particular language (Berman & Slobin 1994, 9). Therefore, how children narrate also mirrors their socialisation pattern in the prevailing socio-cultural and linguistic environment (Nelson 1996, 183–185; Verhoeven 2010, 452).

2.2.2 Language development in bilingual children

Contemporary research on the effects bilingualism has on a child's development has shown a variety of outcomes demonstrating both monolingual and bilingual advantages, and sometimes no difference between the two (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 56 review). Considering the different reasons children become bilingual and the different circumstances under which this happens, the inconsistency of results is unsurprising (*ibid*.). However, as Genesee, Paradis and Crago (2004, 52) conclude, "there is no significant theoretical reason to believe that learning, knowing or using two languages should jeopardize children's development". Even when neurolinguistics are concerned, research on the way linguistic skills are organised in the brain of bilingual people suggest no significant differences compared to monolingual speakers (Lehtonen 2010, 152 review).

Bilingual language development is often separated into either *simultaneous* or *successive* language acquisition. Simultaneous bilingual refers to children who acquire two languages regularly, from birth to about three years of age and continue to be addressed in those spoken languages (de Houwer 2004, 222; Genesee, Paradis and Crago 2004, 23). So far researchers have found more similarities than differences between the language development of monolinguals and simultaneous bilinguals (de Houwer 2004, 243–244 review). Simultaneous bilingual acquisition proceeds through the same basic developmental sequences as monolingual acquisition and there is no systematic proof that simultaneous bilinguals would even be slower than their monolingual counterparts to pass through the critical stages from learning the sound system to acquiring a native-like grammatical competence (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 72–73, 77 review; Meisel 2001, 12 review). Despite of this, the two languages seldom develop in tandem, and one of the languages commonly becomes somewhat dominant in the sense of greater proficiency (Dixon, Wu & Daraghmeh 2012, 31; Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 79 review, 100). Especially, if one of the languages has a lower societal status, it seems to be one the factors which makes that particular language harder to maintain (Dixon, Wu & Daraghmeh 2012, 31; cf. also Gardner-Chloros 2005, 53 review).

Certain characteristics of bilingual language development do, however, differentiate them from their monolingual peers. As a process of developing an adult-like language system all children make certain kind of mistakes, that are typical to particular stages of language development (e.g. “Me no find frog.” instead of “I can’t find the frog.”) (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 75–76). In simultaneous bilinguals some of the mistake structures can appear to be influenced in their form, frequency or continuance of use by the characteristics of the other language (*ibid*.). This is referred to as *crosslinguistic influence*, *language transfer* or *interference* (*ibid*.; Weinreich 1963, 1, cf. also 7–70). *Mixing* is another typical phenomenon of early bilingual language development (Meisel 2004, 345; Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 15). It occurs most frequently on a lexical level and

rarely on the phonological level (e.g. from data: *and den he found a (.) ah (.) peura* 'deer') (Meisel 2004, 345). Mixing the two languages is thought to take place because of a strong domination of one of the languages, because some words are unknown in both the languages or because of the parents' example of freely mixing and switching languages (Meisel 2004, 345; Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 15). Yet another prime characteristic of bilingualism is language *alternation* also known as *code-switching*, where the speaker switches from one language to the other within a sentence or between sentences (Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 15). This occurs throughout the life of the bilingual being often first a relief strategy and with increasing language proficiency developing further into a communicative tool of pragmatic competence (Meisel 2004, 345; Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 15).

Successive bilingualism or second language acquisition process is different from learning the mother tongue or from learning two languages simultaneously, and it most often occurs in situations outside the home (Yazici, Ílter & Glover 2010, 260; Harding & Riley 1994, 71–73). A child may start learning a second language at any age, but regardless of age there are typical stages that children go through when acquiring their L2 (Genesee, Paradis & Craco 2004, 119–120 review). One of these stages is a period between the time the learner begins to use the new language productively until the point the learner achieves native-like language competence (Genesee, Paradis & Craco 2004, 121). During this period the children use language in a rule-governed way, which is neither quite like the learner's first language nor does it yet have the proper characteristics of the target language system (Genesee, Paradis & Craco 2004, 121). At this stage, the children's language entails for example transfer errors (Genesee, Paradis & Craco 2004, 121). I will not examine language transfer or the earlier mentioned mixing or code-switching in this study, but it is useful to understand what they are and acknowledge that they may occur in the narrations of bilingual children and, therefore, possibly affect analysing the verbs and their context.

In successive bilingualism, a good proficiency in the mother tongue is important for successful second language acquisition. As children learn their mother tongue they develop

language skills as well as intellectual capacities that increase their second language learning potential — the skills and knowledge are known to transfer across the first language to the one being acquired (Cummins 2001, 17; Yazici, Ílter & Glover 2010, 261, 266; cf. also Vygotsky 1962, 109–110). Mother tongue should be promoted in the education of bilingual children, because it benefits the children's abilities in all the languages they know (Cummins 2001, 17–18).

Essentially, the difference between monolingual and bilingual children in is the bilingual's task of coping with two sets of linguistic and pragmatic operating principles (Verhoeven 2010, 436). Language is an integral part of culture and cultures like the languages may be relatively similar or different from each other (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 27). Bilingual children not only have to learn the languages, but also how to use each of them in a culturally appropriate way (*ibid*.).

Cultural variation appears strongly in conversational interaction and storytelling (cf. chapter 2.3) (Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 49–50, cf. also Bliss & McCabe 2008, 164–169 review). In narrations the structures of stories vary; in some cultures the narrators develop a theme and stick to that theme whereas in others it is typical to provide background information which leads to diversions from the original theme (Menyuk & Brisk 2005, 50). How much the listeners tend to participate in the act of storytelling also varies culturally as well as the typical themes of the stories (*ibid*.). If this is not taken into consideration by the listeners or participants, different styles may lead to lack of comprehension (Menyuk & brisk 2005, 49). The overall narrative development of bilingual children and the monolingual children is much alike (Verhoeven 2010, 452 review). However, if bilingual children grow up in a L2-submersion environment where only their education is given in the second language, their developmental level of narrative skills often lags behind the level of their monolingual peers in their second language (Verhoeven 2010, 452–453 review).

Cultural background itself does not define the child's language development. Barac and Bialystok (2012) investigated the generality of the bilingual effects on development by testing

verbal abilities and nonverbal cognitive control abilities in different child groups (English monolinguals, Chinese-, French- and Spanish -English bilinguals). The results of the study suggest that cultural background does not contribute to the performance of nonverbal abilities more than bilingualism itself and that there seems to be a bilingual advantage in metalinguistic functioning (*ibid*, 419–420). In verbal performance, it is the similarity between the children's two languages and language of schooling that contribute to their performance (Barac & Bialystok 2012, 420).

One problem that arises from cultural differences, the imbalance of the children's language input and the consequent unevenness of their linguistic skills is the difficulty of differentiating between the signs of language impairment and unimpaired bilingual language development. Educators may not have appropriate developmental expectation of children from bilingual backgrounds (Bedore & Peña 2008, 1). Thus, the children are sometimes either misidentified with having language impairments or identifying their difficulties is delayed as the educators wait for the children to reach the language skill level of their monolingual age-mates, but are hampered with a poor understanding of how long it should take (*ibid*.).

Normative data about the detailed trajectory of simultaneous and early sequential bilingual language development is limited and speech therapists lack valid language assessment tools for identifying clinical markers in bilingual children (Bedore & Peña 2008, 1–2; de Houwer 2004, review, 242). In Finland, only a few assessment methods have been developed (Korpilahti 2010, 150). At the moment the basis for the diagnostic decision making is the knowledge of typical monolingual language acquisition (Bedore & Peña 2008, 2; Korpilahti 2010, 149). Referring to their own research of English-French bilinguals with specific language impairment Genesee, Paradis and Crago (2004, 83–84 review) propose that simultaneous bilingual children with specific language impairment experience difficulties in both languages and the deficit patterns they show are the same as in monolingual children with specific language impairment.

2.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics in studying verb use in narrations

SFL is deeply oriented to the descriptions of how language makes meaning in context and language usage is studied as *choices* made by the speaker (Halliday 1985, xxvii). The choices are always inextricably linked with and depend on the particular situation (*ibid*.; Eggins 2004, 8). In this study, SFL works as a methodical tool for examining how the children use verbs, or choose words so to speak, to convey meanings in a context of a given task, which is to tell a story. The cardinal ideas and terms of SFL in relation to this study will be discussed in the following chapters.

2.3.1 Metafunctions of language

Halliday introduces three types of *metafunctions* of language, which correspond to the basic social-linguistic needs of a human being (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 29, 58–62). Firstly, language has an *ideational* function of representing the outer reality surrounding us as well as the inner world of our private minds (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 29). Halliday divides this metafunction further into *experiental* and *logical* functions (*ibid*.). The first refers to meanings used to represent the world whereas the latter refers to the way the elements used to describe the world are connected to each other in a clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 309–310). Secondly, language has an *interpersonal* meaning in creating social interaction and relationships; producing identities and roles; and conveying emotions, attitudes and experiences to other people (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 29; Halliday 1987, 15). The third, *textual*, metafunction refers to our need to organise our linguistic production into a coherent and cohesive entity compatible with its environment of use (Halliday 1987, 48). The grammar and lexicon of a language enable the generation of all the previously mentioned metafunctions (Eggins 2004, 17–20).

2.3.2 Verbs as processes

When I study the children's stories and the verbs in them, the focus will be on the *experiental metafunction* of language, that is, on how the children's word choices represent their world view, perspectives of reality and their world of imagination in the two languages (Shore 2012, 164; Shore 1992, 36–37, 210). Although based on meaning, SFL theory is an interpretation of linguistic forms (Halliday 1985, xx; Shore 1996, 239). The experiental meaning the speakers convey in the texts are accordingly detectable in the clause types they produce (Shore 2012, 146, 166). Halliday perceives the experiental metafunction as clauses or *processes* consisting potentially of three components: 1) the core of the process realised by a predicate verb also called a *process*, 2) *participants* realised mainly by nouns and 3) *circumstances* realised by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 175; Eggins 2004, 222; Shore 1992, 210–211). I will not study the participants or circumstances, but observing them is essential to understanding the context that affects the semantics of a verb.

As I use the term *process* in this study, I mean the semantic ensemble composed of the core verb and its constituent companions. Whereas, when I discuss the core verb itself, I will use merely the word *verb* or *process verb*. Halliday refers to any instance of language — spoken, written or any other medium of expression — that has some function and meaning in a context of use as *text* (Halliday & Hasan 1990, 10). Throughout this study, I will also use the term in the same sense and refer to the child narrations as texts.

2.3.3 Types of process

The onset of the acquisition of verbs and the development of the informative function of language are notable steps towards an adult like language (Halliday 1975, 21; Tomasello 1992, 7–24). Verbs are perceived to be the most important lexical category of a language (Aitchison 2008, 113). They are used by the speaker to express existence, state of affairs, events, situations, relations between

things as well as someone's actions, thoughts and emotions (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 47; Shore 2012, 164–166). In grammatical clauses, verbs are indivisibly linked with the syntactic structure of the rest of the clause and they are argued to be the lexical items chosen early by the speaker to establish a framework for the rest of the sentence (Aitchison 2008, 113,114). Hence, they guide the overall meaning of the sentence. Considering narratives, verbs and their constituent companions serve a focal function in creating the world of the narrative and its events (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 215–216, 222).

Halliday distinguishes altogether six major types of verb process which present a way to decipher a complete range of human experience (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 170; Shore 2012, 164). There are three main types of process, *material*, *mental* and *relational* and (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 171). The three further types, *behavioural*, *verbal* and *existential* express meanings that are semantically located in between the three main types (*ibid.*). The example clauses given in this chapter and in the whole study are mostly from the narrations collected for this study, but some of them are merely invented for the purpose by me.

Analysing the processes into type categories is not straightforward; semantic regions of the process types shade into each other (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 172). Although, there are prototypical processes, the categorisation of a particular process depends deeply on the semantics of the surrounding context; both the sentence in question and the entire text are to be considered when analysing the meaning of a single process verb (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 171–173; Shore 1992, 213; Shore 1996, 242). As there is no unambiguous one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, one verb may take various forms of process types (e.g. the dog <u>ran</u> around the field -> MAT; those trees <u>run</u> round the whole field -> REL) (Halliday 1985, xx; Shore 1996, 239).

Material processes describe doing and happening (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 170; Shore 1992, 256–257). They construe some kind of concrete material or physical change, tangible action or transition (e.g. *go*, *come*, *leave*, *run*, *fall*, *climb* and *lift*) (*ibid.*). Material clauses are either

transitive or intransitive (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 180). Halliday speaks of *doing* when a verb in the process is transitive taking a direct object (e.g. *he drops the boy and the dog into water*) and of *happening* contrastively when a verb cannot take an object (e.g. *dey fell in+de water*) (*ibid*.).

While material clauses belong to a sphere of outer experience, **mental clauses** illustrate the inner experience and activity such as cognitive behaviour (e.g. *think*, *know*, *remember*), emotion or feeling (e.g. *love*, *fear*) and perception (e.g. *hear*, *see*, *notice*) (Eggins 2004, 225–232; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 50). A mental clause entails the involvement of a conscious human or a humanised participant (Eggins 2004, 227). Therefore, in fairy tale narratives clauses, with animal participants can also in principal be interpreted as mental (e.g. *an' the dog did want to eat*).

Relational processes indicate abstract relationships between things as they classify and identify (Eggins 2004, 237; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 170, 210). They realise expressions of characterisation, ownership or possession, and temporal and spatial location typically with the verb *be* (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 51). Subtypes of relational clauses are either *intensive* or *circumstantial* and can be further distinguished into *identifying* or *attributive* (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 210–248; Shore 1992, 214–256). Circumstantial processes may also be divided into those illustrating *location* in space or time and into those denoting *possession* (Shore 1992, 214–256). Some examples of relational clauses in the children's texts are: *it was the boy's only jar an' de boy was very angry*; *and then (.) they were outside*; *ja sitten kun+oli aamu* 'and when it was morning'.

To mention a few even more specialised subtypes of relational clauses, there is a set of intensive relational sensory clauses, where the verbs refer to sense perception or impression, for example *looks*, *tastes*, *smells*, *sounds*, *feels* and *seems* in English and their semantic equivalents in Finnish *näyttää*, *maistua*, *haista*, *kuulostaa*, *tuntua* and *vaikuttaa* (Shore 1996, 246). An example of a sensory clause in a Finnish narration in the data is: *nuo sarvet näytti vähän+niin+kun puilta* 'those antlers looked a+bit+like trees'. There are also intensive relational resultative clauses, which

are like material clauses in the sense that they realise a change. Hence, in the child narratives I understand the following as resultative clauses: *his [head] get+stuck, ne tuli tosi ilkeeks* 'they became really mean'.

As the name suggests, **behavioural processes** signify physiological and psychological behaviour (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 171). Processes, such as *laughing*, *watching*, *listening*, *raging* and *sleeping* are visible for an outside observer, which differentiates them from mental processes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 171–172; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 50). Generally, behavioural processes resemble doing rather than thinking or feeling, but as with mental processes, the experiencer has to be a conscious being (e.g. *he woke up)* (Eggins 2004, 233–234).

Verbal processes are semantically located mid-way between mental and relational process regions. They are processes of human consciousness externalised and enacted in verbal actions, to be precise, saying and all its synonyms (e.g. *say*, *tell*, *talk*, *yell*, *shout*, *explain* and *ask*) (Eggins 2004, 235; Halliday& Matthiessen 2004, 171, 252; Shore 1992, 161). Also, symbolic exchanges of meaning are understood as verbal processes, and therefore a verbal process does not always require a conscious actor per se (e.g. *this book tells about a boy.*) (Eggins 2004, 235). In children's tales, animal sounds such as *barking* and *hooting* denote verbal processes, as well.

With **existential clauses** things are simply recognised to exist or happen (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 257). Similar to relational processes, existential processes are typically realised by the verb *be* (*ibid.*). In English, the experience of existence is often grammatically formulated with a *there is something* –structure (e.g. *once upon a time (.) there wa:z a bo:y*) (Eggins 2004, 238). Finnish lacks this structure involving a dummy subject, and Finnish existential clauses are formulated roughly in the form *locative noun phrase* + *olla* 'be' + *noun phrase in nominative or partitive* (Helasvuo 2001, 7, 61–62; Shore 1992, 293). An existential clause in Finnish child narrative would therefore be for example: *puun reikässä oli pöllö* 'in the hollow in the tree there was an owl'. One of the characteristic uses of an existential process in a narrative text is the

introduction of central participants (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 257). While Halliday defines existential clauses as a separate process type in English, Shore notes that, though it may be possible to treat existential clauses as process types of their own in Finnish, it is not perhaps the most revealing way to analyse Finnish language (Shore 1992, 292). In this study, I have included existential processes in the same category with relational processes in both the languages (cf. chapter 3.4.1).

2.3.4 Processes in child narratives

The discourse type the bilingual children in this study are engaged in is a narrative of more or less a traditional fairy tale, in this study a story about a boy who has a pet dog and a frog, generally known as the *frog-story* (cf. chapter 3.2). Fairy tales like this and other types of narratives characteristically entail a certain form (Suvanto & Mäkinen 2011, 63–66 review). These forms are perceived to represent the cognitive schemata underlying the way a person has learned to construe and organise events and their causes and consequences (Hickmann 2010, 282; Korpijaakko–Huuhka 2011a, 221–222, review; cf. Schank & Abelson 1977, 36–68, 167–174, 222–227). On the other hand, access to these forms also works reciprocally as learning narrative forms helps children to understand and organise experiences in new situations (*ibid*.).

One example of a narrative form or *story grammar* has the structure of thematic episodes as follows: *abstract*, *orientation*, *complication*, *evaluation*, *resolution* and *coda* or at its simplest, *onset*, *unfolding* and *resolution* (Labov 1972, 362–374). Also the frog-story can be structured like this (Berman & Slobin 1994b, 46). When it comes to verb usage, different text types such as stories and even different episodes within them are wielded by distinct types of process or characteristic mixtures of process types, because language we use varies in respects of what we use it for (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 174–175; Halliday & Hasan 1990, 38–39; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2012, 599). As argued by Korpijaakko-Huuhka (2011a, 222 review), a child may begin a

frog-story with an idiomatic phrase, such as *once upon a time*, but more importantly a child should depict some sort of a starting point by introducing the central characters, their location and what they are doing at that moment. For process usage this typically means the realisation of existential and relational *be*-verb clauses for presenting existence, temporal and spatial location and ownership. As the plot begins and a problem emerges, there is a need for dynamic material processes. A child may also use behavioural and mental processes at this phase of the story to indicate the participant's reactions to the complications. When the efforts to solve the problem are narrated, a child should again realise events with material processes. A typical ending-phrase for a tale is *the end*, although a story may end simply in a depiction of the state of resolution.

What is described above depicts a child narrative with a good episodic structure and according to Berman and Slobin (1994b, 46), in a well narrated frog-story, there should be at least an identifiable beginning, middle and an end. However, as these researchers have discovered, all three phases appear in child narratives rather late: only about one third of five year-olds and three out of five of nine-year olds are yet able to execute all three of the basic story phases (*ibid*., 49). Not only does the occurrence of different thematic episodes of the story increase with age but so does the ability to use the different process types in them. In studying the narratives of children across different ages, Bennet-Kastor (1986) has described the occurrence of five different types of verbs denoting motion (*GO*), action (*DO*), state and possession (*HAVE*), perception and cognition (*SEE*) and existence (*BE*) (Bennet-Kastor 1986 cited in Liles 1993, 875). Two- and three-year-old children used mostly motion and action categories, and only at the age of five the children started to employ all five types with ease (*ibid*.). Generally, children first access the semantics of concrete verb types witch best correspond to Halliday's material processes (Roininen 2014, 12). The events denoted by material processes are visible and therefore easy to notice; the narratives of younger children in frog -stories are in fact more picture-bound (Berman & Slobin 1994, 73–74). In child narratives abstract relations and state of existence, human behaviour and cognitive experiences will understandably

appear later with the maturity to understand complex concepts. Mental processes, especially, illustrate the experiental depth of the story mirroring the level the speaker is able to empathise with the characters and even to correlate the human feelings of the characters to the motives that inflect the plot (Berman & Slobin 1994, 73–75). A majority of nine-year-olds are able to create these sort of frames of mind and make evaluative commentary (*ibid*.).

There are a few studies of how five-, six- and seven-year-old Finnish speaking monolingual children with typical language development use verbs in stories. In the studies that are based on Halliday's process categorisation, the children have been found to concentrate on the concrete deeds, actions and events by applying mostly material processes (Markkanen 2011; 2013, Rajala 2012, Roininen 2013 and 2014). Also verbs denoting behaviour and different relations, that is, clauses with *be* and *have* verbs, were quite substantially used. Mental processes did not occur often in the stories, in other words, the children did not express vastly the participants' inner thoughts, emotions or perceptions.

In addition, to featuring a three-phased structure and a rich scale of process types, a good story contains semantically expressive and specific verbs (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 222 review) For example, if a child uses plenty of semantically general verbs such as *do*, *go* and *come* or the Finnish equivalents to explain the plot, the listener may have difficulty understanding the events in the story properly while having to make a lot of interpretations (*ibid*.). The scarcity or one-sidedness of the verb lexicon may be indicators of a deviance in the language development (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 218–219 rewiev). Nonetheless, limitations of verb vocabulary that are similar to specific language impairment may also occur with second language learning (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 147–148 review). We should also note that the vocabulary sizes as whole in each language of a simultaneous bilingual child are in general expected to be somewhat smaller than that of a monolingual child (Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 87). Using only few verbs in

telling a story can also merely be one type of a narrative strategy (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011a, 218–219 review).

Indeed, verbs seem to be a difficult lexical category to bilingual and monolingual children alike. The findings of a Finnish vocabulary study conducted with five to six-year-old Finnish-Swedish simultaneous bilingual children by Kovalainen (2014) suggested that the understanding as well as the production of verb lexicon was weaker for the bilinguals than it was for the monolingual speakers, but on the whole, all the children performed better on noun assignments than in the verb exercises. A longer exposure time to Finnish language in the bilinguals correlated with higher scores in the vocabulary tasks in Finnish.

Despite the obvious differences between children and adults, it is useful also to observe narration and verb usage in the light of adult language. In her doctoral thesis Anna-Maija Korpijaakko-Huuhka (2003) examined verbs as one aspect of the narrative skills in Finnish aphasic speakers[2] and control persons with unimpaired language skills. In a cartoon strip narrative task both groups generally realised mainly material processes. In comparison to the normal speakers aphasic speakers used more relational and existential verb constructions for depictive purposes, witch substituted for more specific words for actions. For aphasic speakers the verb lexicon was one-sided and the story frames were left frail or non-existent. A good story quality was strongly related to the speaker's ability to describe the main participant's material and, with control persons, also mental processes (for more logopedics studies in adult verb usage in Finnish cf. Karjalainen, Rantala & Remes 2002, Wessman 2010, Alantie 2013 and Veisu coming 2014).

When it comes to English speaking adults, Elisabeth Armstrong (2001) investigated the verb usage in aphasic speakers and control persons in different recount narratives. With control speakers her findings revealed the predominant usage of material and relational verbs while mental, verbal and behavioural verbs were used in lesser degree. The proportional demonstration of verb

[2] Aphasia is a multiform neurological communicational disorder acquired after the age of language acquisition caused by damage to the portions of the brain that are responsible for language (cf. Basso 2003).

categories was different for some of the aphasic speakers, which suggested that a divergent pattern of verb usage can lead to restricted variety in semantic expressiveness in recounts.

3 MATERIALS AND METHODS

In this study I will combine both qualitative and quantitative methods of working with linguistic data to observe how bilingual preschool children use verbs in story-narrations. In this section I will describe and validate the work process of choosing the informants and other materials for this research; preparing the collected raw material for analysis; forming the guiding principles of the semantic analysis; and finally transforming the analysed linguistic data into statistically workable form.

3.1 The informants

The primary data of my thesis consists of spoken narratives by pre-schoolers. The group of informants comprises 18 bilinguals who know and actively use both English and Finnish. The informants were gathered from two different English speaking preschools in the Tampere region. The selection of this locality was based on the convenience of proximity. I only opted to include six-year-old children for the study because rather little research has been conducted on the narrative skills of this age group in Finland. In addition, in the School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Tampere a logopedics student Hanna Roininen was simultaneously preparing her master's thesis study on six- and seven- year-old monolingual Finnish children's verb usage in a narrative task. Thus, the age group I chose is valid for comparison with the monolingual pre-schoolers.

The kindergarten teachers preselected the informant candidates after which the parents were asked for a participation permission (cf. permission form in English Appendix 4). The principal selection criterion for the informants was that they were considered bilingual. The term,

bilingualism was not defined for the parents and for the teachers it was defined loosely as an ability to use both languages for daily communication. According to the teachers' estimation, the selected children were able to manage a task of producing story-like narrations. Another important criterion for participation was that the children should not have any diagnosed speech or language impairments. However, slight phonetic problems and imprecision of articulation were acceptable.

3.1.1 The children's background information from the questionnaires

The parents were asked to fill in questionnaires (cf. Appendix 5) for background information on the children and their speech and language development and current linguistic skills. There are two language specific sections of the questionnaire. To improve comparability with aforementioned[3] logopedics study of monolingual children's verb usage, the Finnish version of this questionnaire was altered from the one utilised for gathering background information in the study of Eriksson and Rajala (2014) (cf. also Suvanto 2012 and Roininen 2014). The English version is my adapted translation. Although not all the parents returned both the English and the Finnish versions of the language skill questionnaire, I was able to confirm the children's typical language development based on the available answers and the fact that no language impairments or concerns regarding the language abilities of the children were reported by the parents.

In the table below, I have compiled some basic background information of the children. I assigned each child an identification code C with a running number from 1 to 20. I excluded two girls from the study as I did not receive the required information from their parents. Note that hence codes C14 and C17 were not present in this study, but as I intent to use the whole set of informants in a later study I have not recoded the informants. Also, I did not receive a full-length filled-in questionnaire sheet from child C19's parents, but they answered some questions presented in Table 1. To explain the content of the chart further, I have interpreted the parents written responses to the

[3] The raw material of monolingual story narrations has been collected by Eriksson and Rajala (2014) and studied further by Roininen (2014).

best of my ability. Some additional information and confirmation also came from the kindergarten teachers. I left question marks to places where I was unable to gain the information or to clarify unclear information.

Table 1. Background information on the bilingual preschoolers

Name	Gender	Age (years; months)	L1 (age of acq. onset)	L2 (age of acq. onset)	L3 (age of acq. onset)	Number of languages	Has lived abroad	Speaks Finnish at home	Speaks English at home	Best language
C1	male	6;3	Finnish, Other, English (0)	-	-	3	yes	yes	yes	English
C2	female	6;8	Finnish (0)	English (3)	-	2	no	yes	yes	Finnish
C3	male	6;7	Finnish (0)	English (3)	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C4	male	6;4	Finnish (0)	English (3)	-	2	yes	yes	no	Finnish
C5	male	6;3	?	?	?	3 or 4?	no	yes	yes	Finnish & English
C6	male	6;3	Finnish & English (0)	-	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C7	male	6;9	Other (0)	Finnish (0-2)	English (3)	3	?	yes	yes	English
C8	female	6;1	Finnish (0)	English (?)	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C9	male	6;7	Finnish (0)	English (3)	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C10	female	6;7	Finnish (0)	English (3)	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C11	male	6;3	Finnish & English (0)	-	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish & English
C12	female	6;7	Finnish (0)	English (2)	-	2	yes	yes	no	Finnish
C13	female	6;10	Other (0)	Finnish (1)	English (4)	3	?	no	no	Other
C15	male	6;5	Other (0)	English & Finnish (3)	-	3	yes	yes	yes	Other
C16	male	6;0	Finnish (0)	English (2)	-	2	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C18	male	6;9	Finnish (0)	Other (1;1)	English (2;6)	3	yes	yes	no	not able to assess
C19	female	6;2	Finnish (0)	English (?)	Other (?)	3	yes	yes	yes	Finnish
C20	male	6;4	Finnish & English (0)	-	-	2	no	yes	yes	Finnish

L1/ L2/L3 = first/second/third language

There were altogether 12 boys and six girls in the group of informants (cf. Table 1). At the time of collecting the narrations the youngest child was a precisely six-year-old male and the oldest child was a female aged six years and ten months (range: girls 6;1–6;10 & boys 6;0–6;9). The average age of the group was six years and five months. The majority of the children, 11 children, knew English and Finnish while the rest of them, seven children, knew also at least one additional language. I will refer to the names of all of these additional languages as *Other* for the protection of the children's anonymity. Ethics in studying children will be discussed more in chapter 3.1.3.

In Table 1 I have marked the children's first, second and third language based on the reported chronological order of the starting point of the language acquisition. Finnish was the first language (L1) or one of the first languages of 15 of the children. There were three children who started to acquire English and Finnish from birth and one child who has acquired Finnish, English and Other from the onset of language development. English is the second language (L2) of nine of the children. One of the children acquired English and Finnish simultaneously as second languages. Only one child had learned Other as the second language. If the children had a third language (L3), it was most often English, but exceptionally, one of the six-year-olds had acquired Other as a third language. I was unable to interpret the order of language acquisitions with child C5.

According to the definitions of de Houwer (2004, 222) and Genesee, Paradis and Crago (2004, 23), and the available background information, children C2, C3, C4, C9, C10, C12, C13, C16 and C18 could be referred as successive bilingual, whereas children C1, C6, C7, C11, C18 and C20 might potentially be defined as simultaneous bilingual considering the acquisition order of Finnish and English. More information would, however, be needed to affirm these definitions as well as consideration to the possible effects of the involvement of a third language. There was not enough information to identify children C5, C8, C19 as belonging to either of these groups, and the definition of child C15 would be different from the rest of the children because he had learned both English and Finnish after three years of age.

In four families both the parents had a mother tongue other than Finnish or English. Finnish was the mother tongue of at least one of the parents in 14 families, while English was not the native language of any of the parents. Generally, the children had begun to acquire English, either while living abroad or in the kindergarten in Finland. In Table 1, I have recorded whether a child used a language at home without having the specific information about who the child used the language with, for what purpose or how often the child uses it. Only one of the children did not speak Finnish at home, whereas 4 of the children did not use English at all in their home environment.

The child's strongest language was the parents' best estimate. Finnish was regarded as the best language of 11 of the partisipants. English instead was reported as the strongest language of only two of the children. Similarly, two children were reported to know English and Finnish equally well. Two of the children knew some other language better than Finnish or English. The parents of one of the children were not able to assess the best language of the child. As couple of the parents mention, parents do not always hear the child speak all the languages the child knows, neither do the parents always consider themselves best qualified to evaluate the child's language skills in all those languages.

3.1.2 The parents' observations of their bilingual children

To conclude some of the issues, a few of the parents had reported as an answer to the question "*Has there been anything special in your child's speech and language development? /Other considerations or observations?"*, both troubles and positive attributes were noted by the parents in relation to bilingualism. Occasional problems in finding the right words and instances of replacing words with the equivalent from the child's other language were reported. According to one parent, compared to monolingual Finnish speakers it took the bilingual children longer to tell a story in Finnish. A few of the parents said that their children were quick to learn a new language. Some

children easily noted and took an active interest in the linguistic features of languages. One child for example was reported to hear and learn intonation patterns easily whereas another was noted to use a Finnish phoneme while speaking English simply for his own amusement. Changing from one language to another was also reported to be fluent.

Language skills had been noted to be constantly evolving variables by the parents. Children' strongest languages were reported to change during the child's lifetime according to the social and cultural environment the child lives in. The children's choice of language also varied on a daily bases according to the social context or even according to personal preference. The children might for example use a language occasionally when playing alone or with siblings, although they otherwise preferred another language in the home environment.

3.1.3 Ethics in studying children

There are four cardinal guiding principles for conducting a study with human participants deferentially (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 39). This ethical framework consists of respects for *autonomy*, *justice*, *beneficence* and *non-maleficence* (*ibid*.). I will discuss these in the light of performing this study with young children. Conducting this study, I have also considered principles of practises in logopedics; some of its ethical conventions are presented for example in *Benchmarks for Speech and Language Therapy Education in Europe; subject specific and generic competencies for newly qualified speech and language therapists* (cf. NetQues 2013, Annex I).

The first of the four main guiding principles introduced above *respect for autonomy* refers to the informants' willingness to participate in the study (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 39, 46). In relation to under-aged children, the consent for participation had to be requested from the child's legal guardian. The permissions were collected in written form and the document included the information needed in case the parents want to withdraw their child from the study at any time or for any reason (cf. Appendix 4). Children's' autonomy to make their own decisions and

to be heard should also be acknowledged (*ibid*.; Sargeant & Harcourt 2012, 24). Although, I did not directly ask their willingness to participate, I used implicit expressions and questions, which allowed the children to express their willingness or unwillingness to participate and to continue performing the task. For example when instructing a child to tell me a story for a second time, I used a conditional question form: *Jos me vaihdettaisiinkin nyt kieltä ja puhuttaisiin suomea, niin kertoisitko mulle tarinan tästä kirjasta myös suomeksi?* 'If we changed the language now and spoke in Finnish, then would you tell me a story from this book also in Finnish?'

The second principle, moral obligation of practising *justice*, means treating the participants fairly and equally respecting people's rights and legal justice (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 39). In this study for example, all participants were interviewed in the morning, when they were still able to focus and were instructed the same way. Individuality of the children needs to be considered and in this study some of the children were given more time and guidance to perform the narration task (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 39; cf. also Julin 2001, 101–111).

The notion of *beneficence* as the third principle means identifying both the benefits and potential risks of the research and weighing them against each other (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 40). Correspondingly, the final principle, *non-maleficence* refers to the avoidance of causing psychological or physical harm (*ibid*.). I aimed to minimise stress to the children and to consume their time in the early education as little as possible. However, I understand that at least the kindergarten teachers and the children's parents consumed their time and effort answering questions, delivering documents and organising timetables (*ibid*.).

Non-maleficence also involves establishing *confidentiality* and *anonymity*, which are essential in respecting the children's privacy (O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 47; Sargeant & Harcourt 2012, 27). To protect the children's anonymity names and other highly identifying features need to be removed from the representations of the data (*ibid*.). According to my best judgement and principles of anonymity, I have represented exact information of the children only

when relevant to the study. Confidentiality further entails handling, using, protecting and archiving the raw data in an appropriate manner and accomplishing a trustful rapport with the participants (NetQues 2013, Annex I; O'Reilly, Ronzoni & Dogra 2013, 48).

3.2 The narrative task and collecting the stories

The children performed a narration task using a picture book *Frog where are you?* by Mercer Mayer (1969). The book has been used internationally as material in divergent studies (Strömqvist & Verhoeven 2010b, 487–499 & 2010c, 500–513). In Finland, the frog-story has served as material for example for studying the narrative skills of typically developed children, prematurely born children, children with hearing impairment and children with specific language impairment (cf. e.g. Julin 2001; Peltonen 2011; Nurmi 2012; Suvanto 2012; Markkanen 2013; Roininen 2014). The frog-story cartoon strip is composed of 24 black and white pictures and is devoid of written text. It is a tale about a boy and his pet dog that have a frog kept in a glass jar. During one night, while the boy and his dog are sleeping, the frog escapes. In the morning, as the boy and the dog wake up, they notice the disappearance of the frog and begin an eventful search for their lost friend. All ends well - the boy and his dog finally find the frog and his whole family of frogs.

I collected the narrations in the preschools during November and December 2013. The children were previously unfamiliar with me and I worked with them individually asking them to tell me the frog-story first in English and then in Finnish. The narrations were audio-recorded with Zoom H2 digital voice recorder. As instructed in Strömqvist & Verhoeven (2010a, 4), I gave the children the picture book to look through and then asked them to tell the story in their own words. As in the previous logopedics studies (e.g. Eriksson & Rajala 2014), I used the *naïve listener*-arrangement (cf. Liles 1993, 873 review). I instructed the children to narrate in such detail that someone who had not heard or seen the story before would understand what is happening in it by merely listening to the child's verbal delivery (cf. Example 1).

Example 1. Instructing the narrative task

Reseacher:

…
so you can (.) start telling me the story in English (.) now
but let's pretend that I've never heard this story
and that I can't really even see the pictures
so you could tell in a (.) detailed way
so that I could understand the story even if I didn't see the pictures
yeah
you can start whenever you want to
you can look at the pictures you don't have to remember anything
…

The purpose of this sort of instruction was to reduce the children's tendency to exploit *joint attention*, that is, the knowledge that both the child's own and the researcher's attention are focused on the same object and the same situation (cf. e.g. Bruner 1983, 70–77 and Eilan 2005, 1). These instructions aimed at inhibiting the children from choosing extra-linguistic gestures such as pointing to pictures or using generic and semantically light words, such as *this*, *that*, *some*, *go*, *do* or the like (e.g. *ja sitten (.) se teki niin näin että se: (.) se: owl (.)se: se pöllö ei tule enää* 'and then (.) it did so like this that the: pöllö (.) the: the owl won't come anymore) instead of using semantically more precise words or expressions (e.g. *an' den de dog tried to catch de beez*) (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011, 222 review).

If a child did not know how to start their narration, was shy, or had difficulty understanding the task, I helped them with the beginning of the narration. I first asked the children if they had trouble beginning a story and if they gave some form of a positive response I offered them an opening line *once upon a time there was…* If this was not a sufficient aid, I asked them who is in the story, what happens in the picture or rephrased the whole previously given instructions. When already performing the narration, I helped the children, if their narration was halted or if they asked me a specific question. I assisted them by encouraging them to continue or

by offering them the names of the requested participants. I did not offer them any verb lexemes. Generally, I interacted with all the children by giving them minimal responses as encouragement. After the first, English, narration, I switched the language to Finnish and asked the children to tell me a story from the same book, this time in Finnish. If the children had difficulties during the task my procedures corresponded to the ones I applied in the English narration task.

3.3 Preparing the data

I annotated the narrations from the recorded audio files. One narration lasted 2–6 minutes on average. The system I adapted for the purposes of this thesis is based on an internationally accepted notation style originally developed by Gail Jefferson, used also by for example Korpijaakko-Huuhka (2003) (cf. Seppänen 1997, 21–23). I transcribed the English and the Finnish texts orthographically mostly in the notation accuracy of lexical content. Prosodic and extra-linguistic communicative features were not included in the transcriptions. However, I noted prominent variations of standard manner of pronunciation as well as hesitations, false initiations, repetitions, self-corrections and minimal responses. I marked pauses roughly without specifying their length.

I divided the transcribed narrative texts into lines by tone groups or tone group clusters the children produced. Tone groups are segments of speech with a noticeable intonation pattern, for example, rising or falling intonation at the end of the segment and they are usually separated by pauses (Halliday 2004, 14–16; Helasvuo 2001, 133–134, 136–137; Lauranto 2005, 134–136). Tone groupings also reflect syntactic structures almost invariably, and generally, within one tone group there is one grammatical item or section that the speaker has prosodically marked as semantically prominent (Halliday 2004, 14–16; Helasvuo 2001, 133, 136; Lauranto 2005, 134–136). I have ordered the texts in lines with the help of tone groups simply to facilitate the detection of the core verb and their accurate grammatical companions from spontaneous speech. I did not use any speech

sound analysing programs. The lines in my transcriptions always begun with a pause, but I have left them unmarked.

The children's lines in the transcription have been numbered. My own comments and answers to the children have been included in the annotations alongside the children's lines. The transcription marks and symbols are listed and explained in Appendix 2. All the children's narrations are attached in Appendix 3, but for the sake of anonymity they do not include names or codes.

3.4 Analysing the data

In the analysis I delimited my classification of verbs into five of Halliday's process types: material (MAT), mental (MENT), relational (REL), behavioural (BEH) and verbal (VERB) given that the understanding of the subcategorisation of the types aided me in identifying the encompassing main types (cf. chapter 2.3.3). I have included existential processes in the relational process category. The reason for this will be explained later on chapter 3.4.1. I identified the verb processes and semantically analysed their process classes observing the context of the particular clause as well as the context of the whole narrated text. Although I concentrated on analysing the verbs, other integral clausal components, participants and circumstances, were considered in order to appropriately acknowledge the context influencing the meaning of the verb.

I classified the processes and marked the process types in the transcriptions after each numbered line retelling the system presented by Korpijaakko-Huuhka in her doctoral thesis *Aphasic speaker's linguistic choices in a cartoon-story task* (2003, 51–53). Presiding the process I have written the abbreviation of the name of the process type in question (cf. Example 2). In these analysis lines, I have included not only the process verbs but also those participants and circumstances that I have held important in analysing the line in question, and therefore the lexical extent and configuration of the analysis lines alters depending on the context. The complete list of

the process type abbreviations and other symbols used in the process analysis, along with their explanations are documented in Appendix 2.

Example 2. Process type analysis in an English narrative

1)	*mmm dat (.) one night de bro (.) the frog went away*	**MAT the frog went away**
2)	*and denh (.)de frog uh (.)like de (.) boy was (.) a looking at the jar*	**BEH de boy was looking at the jar**
3)	*den he said oh no (.) d 'cos de frog was away*	**VERB he said oh no** **REL de frog was away**

3.4.1 Principles of analysing and counting the processes

Since I needed to elicit the beginnings of some of the children's stories I made the decision of starting to count the processes from the first full clause that the children produced by themselves, be it that they were repeating and completing the given starting line or they produced a beginning of their own.

Applying the principles used by Korpijaakko-Huuhka, I excluded instances of false initiations and self-corrections from the process analysis (e.g. *and then the owl (.)went (.)flew to a tree*). I also dismissed repeated processes (e.g. *an' then he (.) öö (.) s (.) said where're you fro:g where 're you fro:g*). Same verbs commonly occurred more than once in one narrated text. When either the circumstances or the participants of the processes were different I considered the verbs separate process items. Likewise, if similar appearing processes referred to different pictures, or in other words, to different events or situations, I counted the verbs separately (e.g. *an' then he was shouting for his fro:g; and then they shouted to the hall; and then (.) he was shouting again for the fro:g*).

Additionally, I disregarded uncompleted verb expressions (e.g. *ja sitten se poika näh oli vähän*'and then the boy sa was a bit') and lines which in my understanding did not concern the story itself, for example, when the children asked me a question or referred to their own cognition (e.g.

öööö (.) I dunno what that's in finnish that once upon a time). I did not analyse the elliptical expressions where the process verbs were omitted (*it was not in the shirt*, *not outsi:de*). There were some expressions in the texts that I was unable to interpret. I have left these instances unanalysed and uncounted (e.g. *an' he does come ov: (.) öö (.)ov: aa a bird*). Instead, I analysed and counted all semantically comprehensible verb forms regardless of their grammatical or phonological incorrectness (e.g. *then the boy comed out* → came*; an' agg accidentally dog ee (.) joped (.) jropt de(.) honey de (.) h beehive* → dropped). Moreover, if a child used one verb, but it was clear from the context that the child ultimately meant another word, I analysed the process based on its intended semantics. *They were fi(.) finding him from the (.) from the trees* would have been analysed as a relational process if considered by its literal form, but in this study the process was understood as behavioural because the child in my opinion meant to express that the boy and the dog were *looking for* the frog.

I defined auxiliary and modal verbs in conjunction with non-finite main verbs and made the semantic analysis of the process based on the meaning of the participial main verb. (e.g. *ampiaiset (.) oli jahtaamassa (.) koiraa* → MAT 'the bees (.) were chasing (.) the dog → MAT). In the child narratives verbs *begin*, *start* and *try* and their Finnish counterparts were frequently analysed together with their subsequent main verb. Tense or negative polarity did not affect the analysis of a process. I considered verb phrases with two verbs containing separate processes if I regarded both the verbs as bearing a precise or independent meaning in that context (e.g. *the boy went to look where it was* →MAT the boy went + BEH the boy looked; *an' the dog did want to eat* → MENT the dog wanted + MAT the dog ate). For example *want* was analysed separately and not disregarded as an auxiliary verb because semantically it depicted well what happened in the story as the dog merely wanted to eat but did not actually get to do so. Therefore, wanting was an actually occurring mental state.

Analysing the processes into semantic types is a qualitative method of working with linguistic data. To best validate the process analysis, Hanna Roininen and I discussed both of our transcribed data together. After this we identified the process items and expression which were the most problematic and used the inter-rater agreement method to discuss their analysis to consensus with the professor of logopedics, Anna-Maija Korpijaakko-Huuhka. In my data, altogether 23 per cent of the processes (N=1310) were subjected to the inter-rater agreement meeting between the three of us and analysed accordingly. This percentage seems relatively high but it includes all single process instances or those singularly counted processes that represented the process types or subtypes that were raised to the discussion by any of the three of us.

The processes I and my student colleague found difficult to analyse were less frequent specific verbs, instances of relational resultative and circumstantial clauses and indirect interrogatives (e.g. *to save*; *they found a frog*; *ja sitten ne huutoi että missä on se (.) sammakko* 'and then they cried where is the frog'). As a result of finding the differentiation between existential clauses and relational clauses somewhat questionable in the consensus meeting, we decided to include the existential processes in the relational process category following the examples of Armstrong (2005), Wessman (2010) and Veisu (coming 2014). The manifestations of existential processes in the children's texts were changed into relational after the inter-rater agreement meeting and are counted in the mentioned 23 per cent. Together with the student colleague, we also decided not to separate the material clauses into intransitive and transitive subtypes for process type analysis.

Generally, our decisions concerning the analysis of process types were based on existing examples whenever resembling processes were possible to detect from literature. When it came to Finnish language, Susanna Shore was the strongest authority. Most of the processes discussed in the meeting were in Finnish, and I applied the same criteria to my analysis of the

English processes combining it to the information gathered from the theory and examples presented by Halliday.

Also the pictures of the Frog-story were a notable aid while analysing the semantic nature of the verb. For example, a Finnish verb *ihmetellä* 'to wonder' could well have been analysed as a cognitive mental verb, but in picture three, the disbelief the boy displays when he realises the disappearance of the frog is visible to an outside viewer by the boy's behaviour and therefore this verb was analysed as behavioural in this case (cf. Example 3). However, there is an instance where the same verb is analysed as mental in picture 11, because the illustration does not display this behaviour or even facial expressions so visibly. All process instances were, thus, analysed as individual cases although I operated following certain examples and general principles.

Example 3. The pictures help in making semantic analysis (pictures 3 and 11)

3.4.2 Lexical diversity

To study the children's lexical diversity or how the children deploy their active vocabulary in the stories, I used the type-token ratio (TTR) of verbs and counting the number of different verb words (NDW) in the texts. TTR expresses the number of different *types* of words in relation to all words

or *tokens* in a sample text. It can be used to weigh the range of vocabulary in written language or speech, and it has been used for example to estimate children's lexical proficiency and in describing language development and disorders (Richards 1987, 201; Watkins, Kelly, Harbers & Hollis 1995, 1349–1351 review). The closer the TTR is to value 1.0, the more varied the lexicon is and the less repetition the text contains (Herdan 1960, 26–28). I observer NDW alongside TTR because it has been suggested that compared to TTR, NDW provides a more sensitive and informative estimate of the children's lexical diversity and is thus a valid means of distinguishing at least SLI children from typically developed peers (Watkins, Kelly, Harbers & Hollis 1995, 1349, 1353). By observing different verb words I also examined what verbs the children used the most in their texts.

The children's stories varied individually in length and duration. Even though TTR and NDW are known to be sensitive to the length of the text sample, I used the children's complete narrations to study these scores, because the narrative task itself was standard for all the children and in both the languages (Prins & Bastiaance 2004, 1084; Wright, Silverman & Newhoff 2003, 443). To form the NDW and TTR values, I counted the verbs in their lemmatised forms. For example in Finnish, verbs *huutaa* and *huudella* or 'to shout, to call', are counted as two separate verb type items, whereas *huutelemaan* and *huudella* represent the same type. Similarly in English, for example forms *find*, *found* and *finding* have the same lemma. I acknowledged the verbs based on their lexical forms and not based on their intended semantic forms even if these two were different from each other. As an example, in the data there was a sentence, *an' den they were fi (.) finding him from the (.) from the trees*, where I counted the verb as the form *find* despite the fact that semantically in its context the verb was used by the child more accurately to mean *to search*. For counting TTR and NDW, I only included the verbs I had also included in the process analysis.

3.4.3 Statistical methods

I modified the transcribed data into a Microsoft Excel-file (Windows 2010) and used MS Excel to count the processes in different variables (cf. example in Appendix 1). In addition to the information receivable from the transcriptions I added background information gathered from the questionnaires. This was a convenient way of creating and examining for example divergent cross tabulations. I also used Excel to formulate the figures that illustrate the occurrence of process types.

To compare the differences between the English and the Finnish narrations and the narrations of the two genders statistically with a parametric test, I used the chi-squared test. The p-value I used was $p < 0.05$ which is the common significance level applied in humanistic sciences (cf. Nummenmaa 2004, 143). As the nonparametric test, I used the Wilcoxon's matched-pairs signed rank test, firstly because it does not presume that the studied variable follows normal distribution, and secondly because the sample size in my study was less than 30 children (cf. Nummenmaa 2004, 154, 253–254). With Wilcoxon's matched-pairs signed rank I compared the individual children's process usage in English and in Finnish. Again, the p-level was $p < 0.05$. I used statistics programmes available on the internet pages *vassarstats.net* and *socscistatistics.com* to count both the chi-squared tests and the Wilcoxon's matched-pairs signed ranks.

4 RESULTS

I will present the results in this section concentrating first on the manifestations of the different process types and moving on to the amount and lexical diversity of the verbs in the child narrations.

4.1 Process types and their occurrence in bilingual children's frog-stories

4.1.1 Process types by language

In the whole transcribed data there were 1310 analysed processes from which 633 (ca. 48%) were realised in the English narrations and 677 (ca. 52%) used in the Finnish narrations. The children in

this study mastered the usage of all five different process types in both the languages. When I examined the bilingual children's English narrations and their Finnish narrations separately, the result showed that the proportional use of different process type categories was nearly identical in both the languages. The proportional demonstration of process categories in all the narrations is presented in Figure 1 below. The full distribution of processes types per language and per child is available in Table A in Appendix 1.

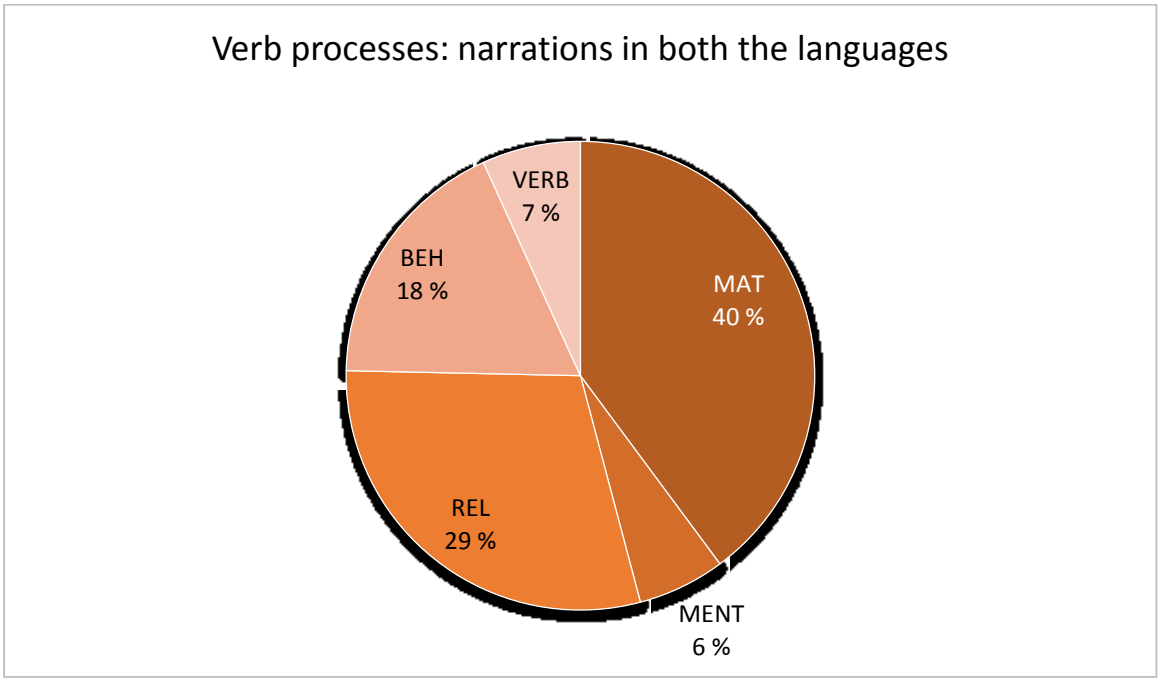

Figure 1. Distribution of different process types in narrations (N=36). Processes N=1310.

The children told the frog-story dominantly employing material processes (Engl. 39% & Finn. 41%). Therefore, the frog-stories consisted largely of concrete actions, deeds and events. Material processes create changes and are used in order to take the plot onwards. Relational processes were the second most applied process type (Engl. 31% & Finn. 28%). They were used for expressing relationships between things, state of affairs and circumstances in the world of the story as well as for noting the existence of a participant or for introducing a new one. Relational processes were mostly realised by the verbs *be* and also *have* in English and similarly by the verb *olla* in Finnish. The verbs *be*, *have* and *olla* do not take the plot onwards but are needed for giving

background information (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011, 222 review). The third most prolific category was the behavioural type (Engl. 17% & Finn. 18%). With these processes the children gave humanised agency to the boy protagonist and other creatures in their stories. By verbal processes the children most often depicted how the boy talks to his dog and calls out for the missing frog. Compared to other categories, verbal processes were realised notably less (Engl. 8% & Finn. 6%). Mental processes, which can be used to portray the characters' thoughts, emotions and physiological senses, were also a frugally produced category (Engl. 6% & Finn. 6%).

Table 2. Processes realised in English and Finnish narrations

Narrations	MAT	MENT	REL	BEH	VERB	Total
English	244	36	195	108	50	633
	39 %	6 %	31 %	17 %	8 %	100 %
Finnish	278	43	191	126	39	677
	41 %	6 %	28 %	18 %	6 %	100 %

As we can see from Table 2 above, the differences in relative process usage between the English and the Finnish texts were scarce. In the English narrations the children employed more multi-purpose verbs *be* and *have* for depicting static state of affairs and less dynamic material verbs for furthering the plot than they did in their Finnish stories. The children expressed the characters' verbal actions more often in English than in Finnish. According to a parametric statistical hypothesis test, chi-squared test, these differences were not statistically significant ($x^2 = 4.15$; df = 4; p = 0.3861). How the children used various types of process did not appear to be different depending on the language they spoke. Considering the fact that most of the children had not known English and Finnish the same amount of time during their life, I found the result somewhat surprising. There were 11 children whose best language was recorded to be Finnish, but even within this subgroup the distributions of different process categories was consistent in both the languages when tested statistically ($x^2= 2.76$; df= 4; p=0.5988).

4.1.2 Process types by gender

Examining the children's verb usage by gender, revealed that all five process types were capitalised in both the genders' texts. Table 3 below, reveals where the subtle differences between the girls and boys lied. In English, the boys highlighted the protagonist's attempts to call the frog back more than the girls did. The girls again focused slightly more on the character's feelings, thoughts and senses. Additionally, the girls concentrated more on concrete actions than the boys. Statistically there was no noteworthy difference between the gender specific performances in English narrations ($x^2 = 1.31$; df = 4; p = 0.8597). Compared to the English ones, the meagre gender differences were more visible in the Finnish texts. Here, the boys seemed to be more inclined in describing the dynamic activities and behaviour of the characters than the girls, who in turn focused on describing the circumstances of the story and the mental functions of the characters. Nevertheless, again the chi-squared test proved no statistically signicant difference between the genders ($x^2 = 3.\ 11$; df = 4; p = 0.5396). Overall, at the age of six girls and boys did not differ from each other by their process type use in either of the tested languages. Both the girls and the boys also used process types in a similar proportions whichever language they narrated in (girls: $x^2 = 1.09$; df = 4; p = 0.8959 & boys: $x^2 = 4.88$; df = 4; p = 0.2998). Even though statistically the difference was not significant between the genders, it was qualitatively interesting that the girls always realised mental processes more than the boys did. The boys on the contrary employed verbal precesses always more often.

Table 3. Process type distribution by gender in English and Finnish narratives

	Girls (n=6)						**Boys (n=12)**					
Narrations	**MAT**	**MENT**	**REL**	**BEH**	**VERB**	**Total**	**MAT**	**MENT**	**REL**	**BEH**	**VERB**	**Total**
English	82	12	62	37	13	206	162	24	133	71	37	427
	40%	6%	30%	18%	6%	100%	38%	5%	31%	17%	9%	100%
Finnish	95	19	73	41	12	240	183	24	118	85	27	437
	40%	8%	30%	17%	5%	100%	42%	6%	27%	19%	6%	100%

4.1.3 Process type usage at an individual level

A bit deeper look into, how the children produced different types of process, displayed a clear variation between individuals. Material, relational and behavioural processes were represented in all the children's texts in English (cf. Figure 2). Material processes dominated the narratives of ten children, relational processes were used the most by four children, material and relational were realised most by two and similarly material and behavioural were expressed most by two children. There were three narrations completely missing mental or verbal process categories. Three of the children only used four process categories and one child employed words from only three process categories. The rest, 14 of the preschoolers, exploited all five process types in English.

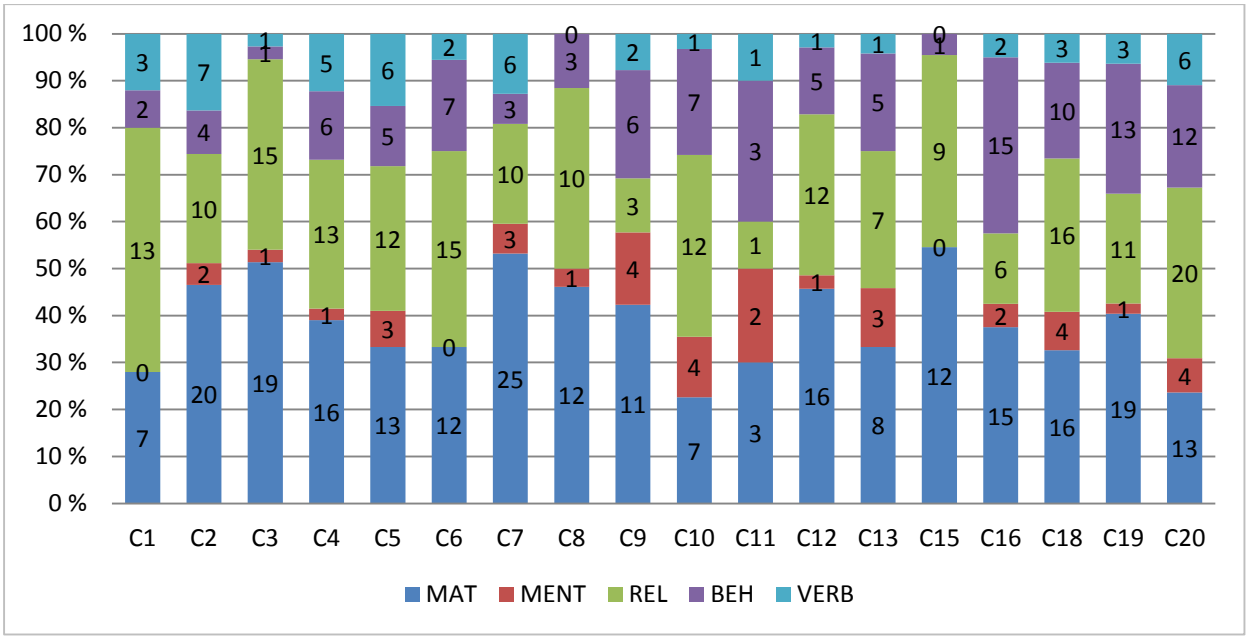

Figure 2. Individual process usage in English narrations (n=18). Children N=18. Processes n=633.

Like in the English narrations, material, relational and behavioural processes appeared in all the children's Finnish texts (cf. Figure 3). Material processes were realised the most by 15 children, behavioural processes were employed most in the narration of two children and relational processes were used the most by one child. Again there were narrations devoid of mental or verbal

processes, and thus six of the pre-schoolers created a story with only four process categories, while the rest 12 of them used all five process types in telling the frog-story.

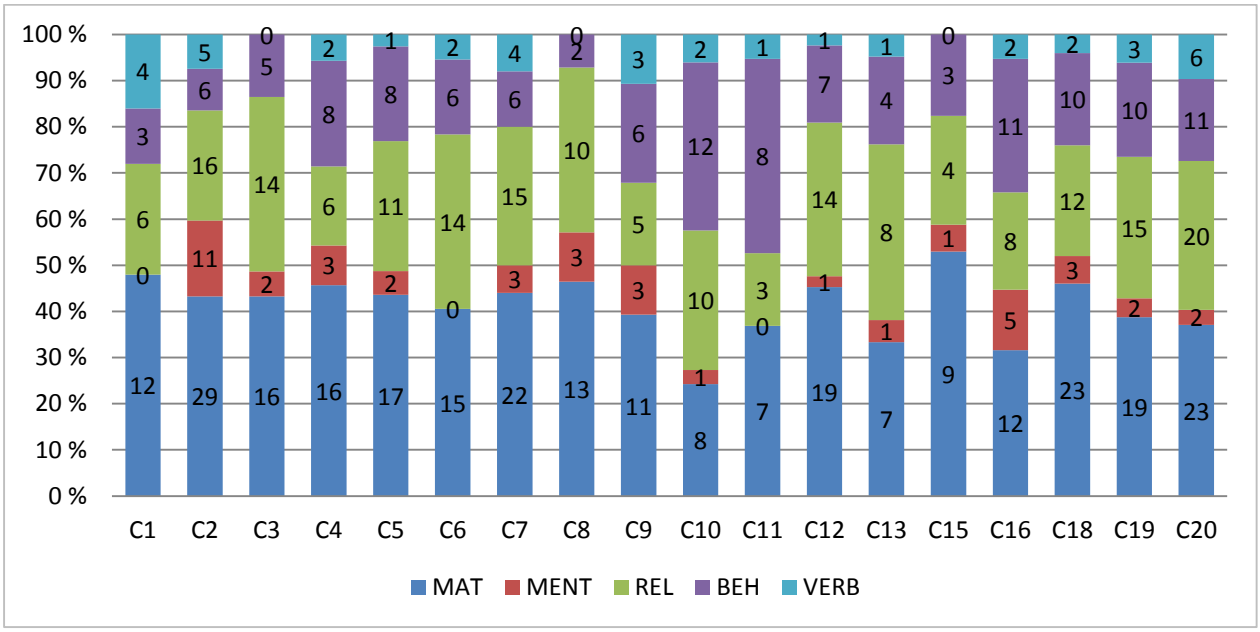

Figure 3. Individual process usage in Finnish narratives (n=18). Children N=18. Processes n= 677

Individuals C1, C3, C6, C8, C11 and C15 were of special interest in this group, because they used less than five different process categories in their stories. As we can see from Table 4 below, in this subgroup of children, mental or verbal processes were often missing from both of their narratives. However, child C3 was missing the verbal process category only in the Finnish narrative and child C11 was lacking the mental process category only in his Finnish text. Child C15 only realised one mental process in the Finnish narration; otherwise mental and verbal processes were completely missing from this child's texts.

Table 4. Children (n=6) with no mental or verbal processes in their English or Finnish narrations

Child	Age	Gender	Number of languages	First language	Best language	MENT (Engl.)	MENT (Finn.)	VERB (Engl.)	VERB (Finn.)
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, Other & English	English	**0**	**0**	3	4
C3	6;7	male	2	Finnish	Finnish	1	2	1	**0**
C6	6;3	male	2	Finnish & English	Finnish	**0**	**0**	2	2
C8	6;1	female	2	Finnish	Finnish	1	3	**0**	**0**
C11	6;3	male	2	Finnish & English	Finnish & English	2	**0**	1	1
C15	6;5	male	3	Other	Other	**0**	1	**0**	**0**

Examining these children in more detail revealed that they did not seem to have common explanatory denominators between them considering gender, the total number of languages they know or their first or best language — not even if the lack of mental and verbal processes were observed separately (cf. Table 4). All these children were reported to use both English and Finnish at home. Although, a clear majority of these children were male and knew only two languages, it should be acknowledge that the majority of all the informants shared these same qualities. However, the majority of the children (C1, C6, C8 and C11) were younger than the average age of six years and five months. The only child, whose first language (L1) or best language was other than Finnish or English, was child C15. This was the child with the least mental or verbal processes in the two narrations.

4.2 The amount and diversity of verbs in bilingual children's frog-stories

4.2.1 The quantity of verbs

As a group the bilingual children realised roughly a similar amount of verbs in the English and the Finnish frog-stories, but variations could be detected when the amounts of verbs were examined at an individual level (Engl.: range 10–55; average 35.16 & Finn.: range 17–67; average 37.61) (cf.

also Tables 5 & 6). When the total amount of processes used in English narrations and the total amount of processes used in Finnish stories were compared per child, 11 of the children realised more processes in Finnish than in English stories, while only four bilinguals employed more processes in their English stories than in their Finnish ones. Three individuals used the same amount of processes regardless the language (cf. Figure 4). According to a non-parametric test that compares two related measurements, Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test (Nummenmaa 2004, 253), the differences between the total process amounts used in English and in Finnish per child were not statistically significant (Z= -1.4483 and p = 0.1141); it is also visible from Figure 4 that, although there were a few exception, the total amounts of processes used per language were typically not far apart from each other.

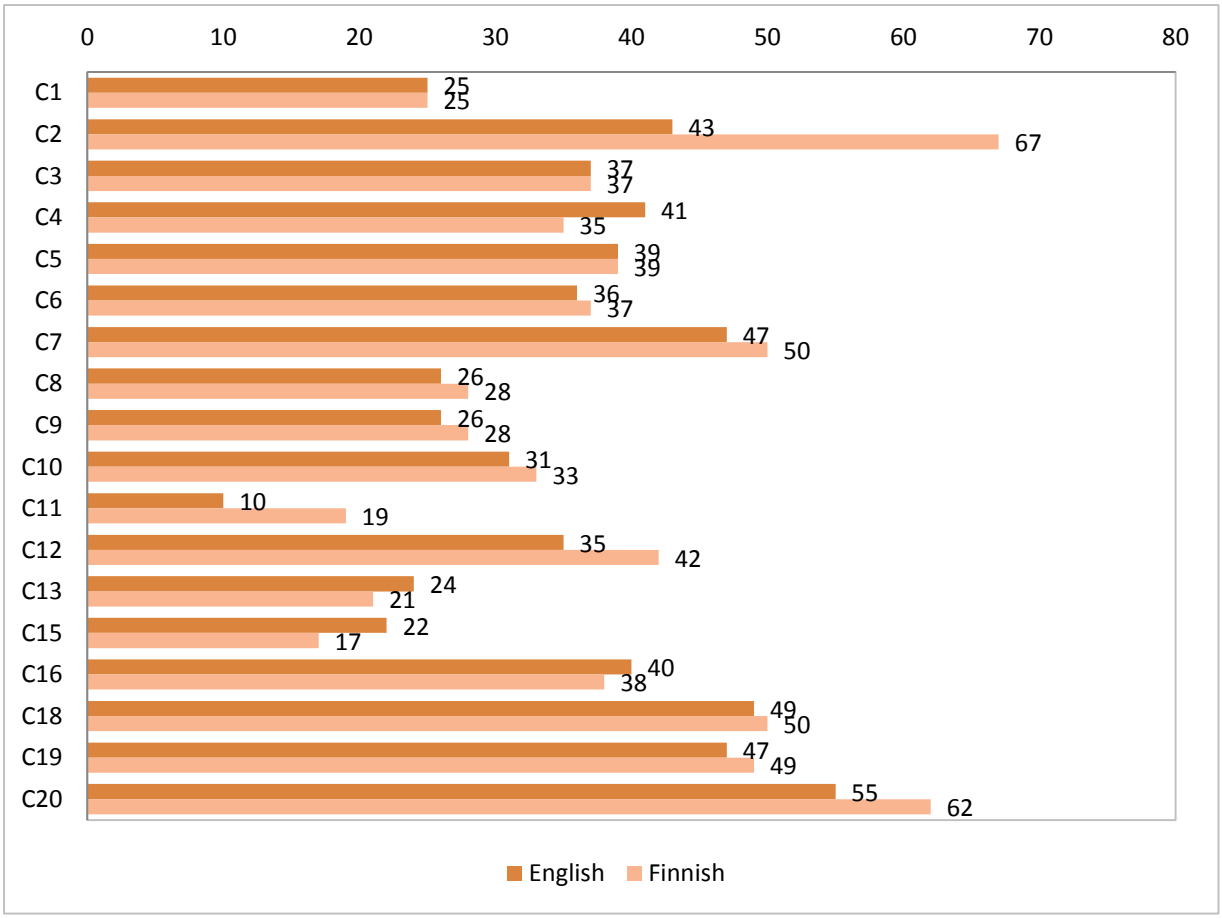

Figure 4. Total amount of processes in English and in Finnish stories per individual child

Table 5. Distribution of processes by language

	English Narrations			Finnish Narrations			Significance of the statistical difference
All bilinguals (N=18)	**amount**	**range**	**average**	**amount**	**range**	**average**	
All	633	10–55	35.17	677	17–67	37.61	Z=-1.4483; p = 0.1141
MAT	244	3–25	13.55	278	7–29	15.44	Z=-1.8175; p = 0.0688
MENT	36	0–4	2.00	43	0–11	2.39	Z=-0.1569; p = 0.8729
REL	195	1–20	10.83	191	3–20	10.61	Z=- 0.0259; p = 0.9761
BEH	108	1–15	6.00	126	2–12	7.00	Z=-1.6288; p= 0.1031
VERB	50	0–7	2.77	39	0–6	2.16	Z =-1.5993; p= N/A[4]

A deeper investigation of the amount of processes per language per child shown in Table 4 suggested that there was no statistically significant difference between the English and the Finnish narrations considering the amounts of any of the separate process types (MAT Z = -1.8175; p = 0.0688, MENT Z = -0.1569; p = 0.8729, REL Z = -0.0259; p = 0.9761, BEH Z= -1.6288; p= 0.1031, VERB Z = -1.5993; p= N/A[4]). With material processes the p-value reached the closest to a significant value and, therefore, we could make a tentative assumption that individual children tended to use material processes more in their Finnish narrations.

With the 11 children whose best language was Finnish, the total amounts of processes in the two languages did not differ significantly (Z = -1.6818 and p = 0.0930) (Engl.: range 26–55; average 37.90 & Finn.: 28–67; average 41.45). Thus, the children did not use considerably more process verbs telling stories in their dominant language. The data was not extensive enough for testing the difference between the two languages by separate process types.

[4] It is not possible to calculate the accurate p-value, with this test because N is 9. The W-value here is 9. The critical value of W for N=9 is 5, therefore the result is **not significant** at p <0.05

The data was too restricted also for comparing the gender specific performances statistically, because the amount of girls and boys was unequal, but it seemed that the amounts of verbs hardly differed by gender in the English texts (girls: range 24–47; average 34.33 & boys: range 10–55; average 35.58) whereas in the Finnish texts the girls were slightly more verbose than the boys (girls: range 21–67; average 40.00 & boys: range 17–62; average 36.42) (cf. Table 7). The highest amount of verbs was realised by a girl in a Finnish story. The lowest amounts of verbs in both the languages were produced by boys as well as the highest amount of verbs in English. Usually girls tell longer stories than boys, but in this sample this did not seem to be very apparent, at least by only considering the average amount of verbs as other lexical components were not observed (Lyytinen 2003, 58 review). The distribution of processes by gender in English and Finnish narrations is available in Table B in Appendix 1.

4.2.2 The lexical diversity of the verbs

Altogether, in the English texts there were 74 different types of verbs and 633 verb tokens and in the Finnish narratives the children realised 104 different types of verbs and 677 verb tokens. In Table 5, I have gathered the top 15 of the most often used verbs from the children's stories. Abbreviations T and IT stand for transitive and intransitive verb forms. The two lists are similar in outline, and the top three items on the lists are the same in both the languages. The most prevalent verbs in the texts were the English verb *be*, performing 20 per cent of all used English verbs and *olla* in Finnish, performing 22 per cent of all the Finnish verbs. As semantic equivalents to the Finnish *olla*, the verbs *be* and *have* formed altogether 23 per cent of the English verb material. Other general verbs *go* or *mennä, come* or *tulla* and *take* or *ottaa* were also well represented in the texts as they can be applied to convey several different meanings.

Table 5. The most generally used verbs in English and in Finnish narrations

Top 15 most used verbs	English verb	Amount	Finnish verb	Translation	Amount
1.	*be*	129	*olla*	'be/(have)'	148
2.	*go*	55	*mennä*	'go'	56
3.	*look*	55	*katsoa*	'look'	48
4.	*find*	33	*nähdä*	'see'	24
5.	*fall*	32	*tulla*	'come'	23
6.	*say*	24	*huutaa*	'shout'	21
7.	*see*	24	*kiivetä*	'climb'	21
8.	*climb*	18	*löytää*	'find'	17
			nukkua	'sleep'	17
9.	*come*	17	*etsiä*	'search'	16
			tippua	'fall/drop' IT	16
			ottaa	'take'	16
			pudota	'fall/drop' IT	16
10.	*have*	16	*lähteä*	'leave'	14
	sleep	16	*sanoa*	'say'	14
	drop T/IT	16			
11.	*jump*	13	*hypätä*	'jump'	12
	shout	13			
12.	*take*	12	*herätä*	'wake up'	11
13.	*run*	11	*juosta*	'run'	10
	wake up	11			
14.	*break* T/IT	10	*rikkoa*	'break' T	7
	search	10	*tiputtaa*	'drop' T	7
15.	*get*	9	*jahdata*	'chase'	6
			tipahtaa	'fall/drop IT'	6
			jäädä	'stay/remain'	6

In the English narratives there were 33 verbs that had only been used once in the whole text data and in the Finnish texts the corresponding number, 46, was higher. These verbs consisted of semantically specific words such as *attack*, *creep*, *hide*, *listen* and *wave* in English and such as *antaa* 'give', *juoksennella* 'run around', *läpyttää* 'flap', *miettiä* 'ponder' and *tunkea* 'cram, squeeze' in the children's Finnish stories. These words also included a couple of rare dialect words or perhaps even neologistic verbs *puskata*, *pulata*, *myrähdellä* and *juoksittaa* in Finish texts, which in my opinion could mean 'to push', ' accidentally fall in the water', 'make a low growling sort of a noise' and 'carry someone while running'.

Type token ratios indicated that these bilingual preschoolers did not have a more diverse verb vocabulary in one of the two languages (Finn.: range 0.40–0.70; average 0.53 & Engl.: range 0.32–0.80; average 0.51) (cf. Table 6). Statistically, using the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test, the difference between the Finnish and English narrations was not significant ($Z = -1.3018$ and $p = 0.1936$). However, comparing the numbers of different verb words (NDW) in English and in Finnish narratives on the contrary indicated that the children realised a more versatile verb lexicon in their Finnish narratives than in their English narratives (Finn.: range 9–33; average 19,61 & Engl.: range 8–24; average 17.05). There was a clear statistical significance ($Z = -2.4169$ and $p = 0.0155$). NDW is not a ratio value, and in this case it detected the difference between the two languages in a divergent manner; perhaps more sensitively in depicting lexical diversity specifically when performances in two separate languages were compared.

Table 6. The quantity of verb tokens, TTR and NDW values in narratives by language

	English Narrations		Finnish Narrations		Significance of the statistical difference
All bilinguals (N=18)	**range**	**average**	**range**	**average**	
Amount of verbs	10–55	35.17	17–67	37.61	Z= -1.4483; p = 0.1141
NDW	8–24	17.05	9–33	19.61	**Z= -2.4169; p = 0.0155**
TTR	0.32–0.80	0.51	0.40–0.70	0.53	Z= -1.3018; p = 0.1936

When I observed the 11 children whose best language was Finnish, the difference between the English (TTR: range 0.32–0.61; average 0.49 & NDW: range 14–23; average 18) and the Finnish narrations (TTR: range 0.41–0.70; average 0.55 & NDW: range 15–33; average 22, 27) was significant this time when measured by either TTR (Z = -2.1915; p =0.0285) or NDW (Z=-2.5205; p= N/A[5]). It would be natural that the children would have had larger active vocabularies in their dominant language and the results here appear to support that assumption.

There was a perfect parity between the genders considering TTR average values in both languages (cf. Table 7). The boys had the notably highest TTR value in the English texts, whereas in Finnish the girls possessed the highest rate. The average NDW values showed quite little difference between the genders in either of the languages. Nevertheless, the boys displayed a wider range of lexical diversities in both languages. The two genders performed higher TTR and NDW values in their Finnish narratives than in their English ones. However, these interpretations could not be tested statistically.

[5] It is not possible to calculate the accurate p-value, because N is 8. The W-value here is 0. The critical value of *W* for *N* = 8 at p≤ 0.05 is 3. Therefore, the result is **significant** at p≤ 0.05.

Table 7. The quantity of verb tokens, TTR and NDW values in narratives by gender and language

	English Narrations		Finnish Narrations	
Girls (n=6)	**range**	**average**	**range**	**average**
Amount of verbs	24–47	34.33	21–67	40.00
NDW	14–21	16.67	12–31	20.33
TTR	0.32–0.67	0.51	0.41–0.70	0.53
Boys (n=12)	**range**	**average**	**range**	**average**
Amount of verbs	10–55	35.58	17–62	36.42
NDW	8–24	17.25	9–33	19.25
TTR	0.36–0.80	0.51	0.40–0.63	0.53

5 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine how 18 six-year-old bilingual preschoolers who knew at least Finnish and English used verbs in narrating a story from Mercer Myer's picture book *Frog where are you?*. The children told the story both in English and in Finnish. Applying SFL-theory I observed what sort of verb processes the children used for describing the events of the story. Additionally, I examined how versatile verb lexicons the children employed. I observed the verb usage by comparing the two languages with each other and also by comparing the performances of the two genders.

The main findings of this study were that generally the children realised all five process categories in both the languages and the proportional distribution of the categories was very much the same in English and in Finnish. I considered this surprising, as the majority of the children (11 out of 18) new Finnish better than English, and I expected this to manifest itself as more divergent proportional demonstrations of verb categories between the languages. By and large, also the two genders seemed to perform similarly regardless of the language they used. Thus, at six years of age,

gender did not appear to influence the narrative performance considering categorical verb usage. Among individuals variations in the proportional process type usage were detectable as could be presumed.

The children displayed a lot of variation in the total amounts of verbs in their narrations (range: Engl.10–55 & Finn.17–67). Nevertheless, when the two languages were compared there was no statistically significant difference in the amounts of used verbs even when the different process categories were compared separately. The two genders did not seem to differ from each other by this measure either. The most used single verbs in the narrations were *be* (20 % of all English verbs) and its Finnish counterpart *olla* (22 % of all Finnish verbs).

The amount of used verbs as such did not tell much about their quality. Measured by NDW the children used more versatile verb lexicons in their Finnish narratives than in their English ones. The majority of the children had Finnish as their best language, and it would seem natural that they were therefore more proficient in their verb usage in that particular language. To support this notion, the comparison between the two languages within the exact subgroup of 11 children whose best language was reported to be Finnish, Wilcoxon's matched pairs rank in fact showed a statistically significant difference between the languages in both NDW and TTR (cf. chapter 4.2.2).

5.1 Discussion of the main findings

The proportional distribution of the process categories was nearly completely the same in English and in Finnish. One possible explanation for this similarity might be based on the fact that certain assemblies of verb categories occur in certain discourses and in narrative discourse certain phases of the traditional story entail the usage of specific process categories (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 174–175; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011, 222 review). Generally, the children seemed to have established themselves an idea of the story concept, which they had probably acquired through their dominant language. Hence, it is possible that they were able to transfer their knowledge and skills

also to the less dominant or later acquired language in performing this task (cf. Cummins 2001, 17; Yazici, Ílter & Glover 2010, 261, 266).

I compared the Finnish narrative performances of the bilingual children to the performance of the 10 Finnish monolingual six-year-old peers (age range 6;4–6;11 years) in Roininen's study (2014) and discovered that there was no statistically significant difference according to the chi-squared test ($x^2 = 5.\ 49$, df = 4 and p = 0.2406[6]). Measured by this method, it can tentatively be assumed that bilingual children develop the usage of different semantic categories at the same rate as their monolingual peers and that acquisition of other languages does not seem to delay this development.

The most frequently used process category was the material verb type, with which the children depicted concrete actions and took the plot of their story onwards. The same type of narrations in general are majorly produced by this category (cf. e.g. Roininen 2014, Armstrong 2001). In a picture book narration this is presumable as material processes are the easiest semantic category to convey as well as to observe visually. Relational process category was the second most used type, consisting mostly of *be* and *have* vebs in English and *olla* in Finnish. Relational clauses have an essential function in describing circunstances and characteristics and in giving bacground information (Julin 2001, 77). They are multipurpose words perceived also as semantically light and even easy to use, because by themselves they do not carry an intrinsic meaning (Karjalainen, Rantala, Remes 2002, 60). When the bilingual children were compared to their monolingual peers in Finnish narratives (Roininen 2014), the slight differences showed mainly in the use of these relational processes (REL: biling. 28% & monoling. 24%). The Finnish monolingual children used the single verb *olla* 'be'/'have' in lesser degree with 15 per cent of all used verbs, whereas the corresponding percentages in bilingual children were 23 in the English and 22 in the Finnish stories. It is possible that the bilingual children concentrated more on the circumstances and background

[6] The values for counting the statistical difference were received directly from Roininen (2014)

information or perhaps they were slightly more hindered in accessing semantically weightier verb categories.

The least used process category was the mental type. This could have been expected for at least two reasons. Firstly, as Bennet-Castor has studied, the ability to produce meanings that consider thoughts, emotions and physiological senses in narrations develop later than the ability to produce meanings of action and motion (Bennet-Kastor 1986 cited in Liles 1993, 875). Secondly, the cartoon-strip does not display very much for example facial expressions or thought bubbles that might promote ample use of mental process category. Good narrations appear to involve mainly material processes, but include also mental types (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 149). Therefore, in studying children's language in a single discourse, they are not expected to use all the process types relatively as much, but a vast variety of occurrences of diverse types of process is desirable (cf. Armstrong 1995, 75).

Considered individually the children display clear variation among them, and six of them realised only four or three of the process categories. They missed either verbal or mental categories or both, which are generally the rarest and late to develop in child narratives. These results could not be tested statistically, but qualitative observation suggests that one possible explanation could be young age as five of the six children were either of the average age of six years and five months or notably below it (range: 6;1–6;5, mode: 6;3). One child was missing verbal and mental categories altogether, except for one mental verb in his Finnish narrative. The child's first and best language was other than English or Finnish. This is an unique case in the data set, but it raises for example questions about whether his family came from a culture or cultures where narrative conventions are somewhat different and his narration mirrors the level of his socialisation to Finnish and English cultures at the moment; or whether he simply did not know those sort of words yet; or if it was merely a question of personal style. Nevertheless, lacking process categories is not uncommon in children with typical language developed, and also some of

the monolingual children in Roininen's study were missing mental or verbal process categories (cf. also Rajala 2012).

The results from TTR and NDW measures were difficult to interpret as such because there are no norms available for bilingual children, Finnish monolingual children or different task types (Roininen 2014, 36). A comparison between the Finnish performances of the bilingual children and the performances of the Finnish monolingual peers in the frog-story implied that bilingual children conveyed a wider range of both TTR and NDW values than monolingual children (TTR range: biling. 0.40–0.70 & monoling. 0.53–0.69; NDW range: biling. 9–33 & monoling. 14–32) and the lexical diversity in the bilingual children appeared to be little lower than in their peers (TTR average: biling. 0.53 & monoling. 0.61; NDW average: biling. 19.61 & monoling. 22.7). Given that the bilingual group was bigger by eight individuals and also entailed children whose first or best language was not Finnish the differences seemed understandable. Overall, active lexicon and the ability to utilise it diversely in narrative speech improves with age; in a study by Kaipainen (2011) Finnish adults (23–82 years) produced type-token ratios from 0.5 up to 1.0 (average 0.8).

The bilingual children used more versatile verb lexicons in their Finnish narratives than in their English ones according NDW and according to also TTR when the subgroup of children, whose dominant language was Finnish were examined. However, the total amount of used verbs did not indicate this distinction between languages neither did the proportional distribution of different verb types. What we can conclude from this is that perhaps the children's metalinguistic skills of understanding some sort of a story schemata and creating one are generalised skills. I would regard the Finnish and English traditions of storytelling as quite consistent, which would facilitate performing the dual narration task. Lexically the children seemed to be more proficient in Finnish presumably because the Finnish language input and discourse opportunities have been more extensive in their everyday lives. The bilingual children seemed to have had the ability to produce of all five semantic process spheres in both the languages, but it is possible that within these spheres

they had more lexical options to choose from in Finnish. In English again, they were perhaps more bound to reusing the same verbs at this stage of their language acquisition.

5.2 Assessing materials and methods

5.2.1 The children and their background information

As a pilot study of a sort this study contains factors that would have made the study more optimal if regulated differently. To consider the children, the sample size used for this study is relatively small, and furthermore, an equal amount of girls and boys would have rendered gender comparison more valid. On one hand a higher consistency within the studied group of children would have perhaps increased the reliability of the results, but on the other hand the fluctuation within child bilingualism is common and completely controlling the unity of the group would have prohibited the possibility of discovering whether some manner of language use itself would point to some separate special groups or individuals.

I collected the background information of the children using questionnaire forms, some of the parents received printed paper version, whereas some were sent the forms by email. Some of the parents also had a native language other than English and Finnish, which were the only languages the questionnaires were provided in. Perhaps therefore the parents answered in various lengths and precisions, but I decided to include most of the children in the study despite the fact that the information in some of the answer sheets was incomplete. For possible future data collecting, perhaps a clearer and a more detailed questionnaire form would be the Alberta Language and Development Questionnaire (ALDeQ), which has been translated into Finnish among many other languages (original version available from: *http://www.linguistics.ualberta.ca/en/CHESL_Centre/Questionnaires.aspx*.).

All in all, the most reliable method for collecting the information would have been interviewing the parents personally, completing the questionnaires with them and using an

interpreter when required, but unfortunately this would have been too much time consuming and difficult to arrange. However, even the parents do not always know how their child's language skills are in all the languages the child knows neither do the parents always perceive themselves qualified to assess these skills as some of the parents themselves reported. The kindergarten teachers were also not able to assess the child's language skills in other languages than English. Thus, it seems that often there may be no-one who has a good perception of the bilingual child's language skills as whole.

The term *bilingualism* was not defined for the parents. One of the parents marked in the questionnaire form that the child in question is not bilingual. However, the kindergarten teacher regarded the child as such and the child was in fact able to narrate in two languages. This to me is an indication of the persisting ambiguity of the term, be it that the phenomenon itself is very common.

The circumstances for acquiring English in my view seemed mostly favourable for the children in the study. Some of the children had already lived abroad in English speaking countries, so it could be assumed that during their lives they have acquired English in educational environment as well as in everyday life situations. English is a respected language in Finland and because the attitudes towards it are generally good therefore also acquiring and maintaining the language in Finnish society has probably been and will be respectfully easy for the children. Many of them had Finnish parents and thinking about the future of these children there seems to be little pressure to achieve a native-like command of English especially while living in Finland. Thus, acquiring it is useful, but not vital. For those children, however, who came from families where the parents native tongues were neither Finnish nor English there has presumably been and will be more external pressure to learn first and foremost Finnish but at least the world language, English, to ensure good social, educational and economic prospects in Finland.

For many of the children Finnish was their home language and for the rest it was at least the language of the surrounding society. For all these children the function of English at the moment they participated in the study was at least to be a medium for socially interacting with peers and teachers in day care. It was also their medium of receiving the early education. Narrative skills in this context were undoubtedly much needed and I would imagine that also much promoted and even rehearsed. This may also have been one of the reasons why the children were able to produce different semantic categories fluently also in English, even if it was a less dominant language for many of the children.

5.2.2 Discussion of the narrative task and the context of narration

Cartoon strip narrations are an established method of assessing language skills in logopedics (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 33, 198). Indeed, from very early on primary caregiver and child engage in activities that resemble book reading and this interaction over stories presents a discourse domain with relatively stable main characteristics that also represent the mainstream culture (Bamberg 1987, 20 -21 review; Nelson 1996, 207). The activity of creating a story from a picture book is regarded as a discourse type that can be compared over larger stretches of time than other discourse activities (*ibid*.). Furthermore, with picture book narrations as research method children can partake in the task in a way that can be checked by the researcher currently as well as at a later point when analysing the data (Bamberg 1987, 21). For example for my analysis this proved to be a substantial help. Generally one of the benefits of using the frog-story is that it enables also international comparison.

The picture book encourages the children to produce relatively long spans of connected speech, which otherwise might be difficult to induce for research (Bamberg 1987, 21). As I asked the children to tell the story from the same book in English and in Finnish, a more spontaneous narrative task could also have created more variation in the length of narration between the two

languages. In this study the amount of verbs the children used in each of their narratives were typically rather close to each other (cf. Figure 4). The average difference between languages was 4.22 verbs in texts that ranged from 10 to 67 processes. The pictures also served as memory aids and without them, the two narrations might have been more diverse in length and semantic content.

Pictures in the frog-story require a focus on objects, persons and events (Bamberg 1987, 21). However, it has been noted that using pictures may encourage a person merely to describe the pictures rather than narrate a story (cf. Berman & Slobin 1994b, 71; Korpijaakki-Huuhka 2012, 601). Descriptive language would manifest itself as the predominance of relational processes, that is to say, mainly clauses with *be* and *olla* verbs (Karjalainen, Rantala & Remes 2002, 60). Considering the proportional representation of process types in the bilingual children's narratives, relational processes constitute less than a third of all the clauses realised in the English or Finnish texts. As their Finnish monolingual peers, the bilingual children were able to create dynamic and eventful stories by applying material and behavioural processes in significant proportions (cf. also Roininen 2014).

As an eliciting method the pictures of the frog-story encourage the usage of certain lexical verbs, meaning other verbs than *be* or *olla*, like *search*, *shout*, *fall*, *look*, *run* and the Finnish equivalents. Therefore, the children in this study produce very similar narratives in both the languages and compared to other children in the study. In the context of narrating in two languages this generates difficulty in estimating whether the children translate their first narratives into their second ones instead of creating the second story from a new. The problem could have been avoided by using a different book for one of the narrations. However, this would have complicated the comparison between the narrations as well as the comparison with other studies. The bilingual children here produced similar verbs as the monolingual children in the studies of Roininen (2014) and Markkanen (2013). As Roininen and Markkanen both note though, norms for Finnish lexicon in the frog-story are lacking and would be very useful.

The type of the task itself as well as the collecting situation inflect the children's performance (Halliday & Hasan 1990, 38–39; Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003, 165; Liles 1993, 873 review; cf. also Alantie 2013, 60). Even though the data was collected in familiar surroundings, the researcher was new to the children and the locality of the data collection, although secluded from the rest of the children, was noisy at times because of poor soundproofing. Some of the children may have felt nervous with an unknown person or somewhat disturbed by the noise commotion, and perhaps were therefore not always able to perform according to their usual potential.

In multiple case studies and groups studies, it is important that the researcher's instructions and other speech lines and comments are similar to each of the participant. Despite the fact that this was also my aim, some of the children needed more help in getting through the task than others. As I helped some of the first of the children by giving them the beginning line of the story and noun words in answers, I needed to do so for the others as well. This was to maintain consistency, even though the naïve listener arrangement and the example of former studies (Eriksson & Rajala 2014) would have rather instructed me to remain more uninvolved. My worry was that the children would experience too much of a frustration not to continue the task and also that not knowing or remembering the name of a thing or a participant would lead them to omit a part of the story and verb clauses they originally wanted to incorporate. It should be noted though that the researcher's participation does not always necessarily influence the child's performance (Julin 2001, 110–111).

If in need, I gave the children the beginning phrase *once upon a time…*, because I observed some of the children already ply it independently. For four and a half-year-old monolingual Finnish children in Julin's study (2001) this beginning phrase was still extremely rare. The bilingual six-year-olds seemed to recognise quite well this particular narrative register and certain conventions it entails. Even when the beginning phrase was given to the children many of them could continue the story from there with ease, because they were familiar with the typical

story format. However, for some of the partisipants beginning the task was still a bit difficult. In Finnish the children also used the beginning phrase *olipa kerran* rather often. Sometimes they did not remember the exact phrase, but used a free translation of the English construction instead, for example *yhdellä kerralla (.) siellä oli joku poika* 'this one time (.) there was some boy'. This referred perhaps to their ability to transfer skills and knowledge across languages, but perhaps also to the phenomenon of language transfer. Many of the children also completed their story with an ending phrase (e.g. *and dat's d+end; an' vhen it's done; ja sitten (.) sem+pituinen se* [idiomatic Finnish end-phrase of a story]).

The children seemed to need more help than I had initially expected. One of the reasons why I felt this way was perhaps that sometimes they sought for some words for what seemed to me like a quite a long time. Some of the parents had also reported their children experiencing occasional difficulties finding words and taking more time narrating than monolingual children. As could be expected, these bilingual children were perhaps used to not knowing absolutely all the words in both the languages and hence they may have been very prompt to express this by asking or remaining silent and waiting patiently for the word to eventually come to mind. Bilingual individuals, especially children, do not have a translation equivalent for every word. According to a study in Spanish-English bilingual speakers, the percentage of words that did not have a translation equivalent was 50 per cent in six-year-old first graders, and in fact, even with mature age, the percentage never reached full 100 (Pearson 1995 cited in Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 69–70).

As characteristic to bilingual speakers, the children in this study seemed to compensate their lexical gaps by word mixing, that is, by taking words from the other language (e.g. *siellä oli toi owl* 'there was this pöllö'; *and den he found a (.) ah (.) peura* 'deer') (cf. Genesee, Paradis & Crago 2004, 102 review). They even appeared to invent words, possibly as a result of language transfer (e.g. *and den (.) de boy had a stinky*; *and they ee trying toh (.) find (.) them in snow*

phooles; *and the dog wuffed (.) for+dat*; *koirakin (.) myrähteli ja puhu (.) öö (.) haukku* 'the dog [a verb describing a way of produsing noise] and talked (.) um (.) barked').

Generally the bilingual children's performances of the frog-story task were like the narratives of monolingual children. Like already the majority of five-year-olds, most of these six-year olds used a fixed tense in their narratives, in this case the imperfect (Berman & Slobin 1994b, 66). Typically the children used a third person singular to tell their stories. These children made mistakes for example in their in verb inflection (e.g. *an' then (.) the (.) the dog fall (.) an' he braked the cup*). As a peculiarity a few of the children also used the verb *to find* as a synonym to the verb *to search* or *to look for* (e.g. *...they were trying to find it from the (.) holes (.)an' den they were fi (.) finding him from the (.) from the trees*).

The children told the two stories in succession starting with English and repeating the same task immediately in Finnish, and looked at the same book both the times. Organising my data collection like this may have affected the way the children performed in their latter Finnish narratives. The children may have contented themselves with renewing their first stories and largely translating the contents of their first stories. If English was not the better language of the children the children's vocabulary may have been somewhat restricted to the available translation equivalents in the Finnish narrations. However, as we can see from the NDW and also TTR results, the children's vocabularies in general seemed to be more versatile in the latter Finnish narratives (cf. chapter 4.2.2). On the other hand, this can be a result of the children either truly knowing their Finnish language better or the children having had practice in performing the task. They may have evolved their ideas of the events in the narratives and therefore been able to add precision and diversity in the verb lexicon. Some of the children may also have condensed their stories in the latter Finnish narratives. It would have perhaps been optimal to record the narrations on different days, perhaps even two weeks apart from each other to better avoid the possible influence of the

order the narratives were collected in, given that the children would not have remembered the previous time very well.

5.2.3 Challenges in data analysis

Using narratives as a research method requires that the researcher is familiar with both the appropriate means of collecting the data and with theoretical basis of linguistic analysis (cf. Suvanto 2012, 200). Dividing processes into five categories is a somewhat artificial way of studying language, but as a structured method makes it possible to examine language skills also statistically. Analysing the processes into categories is also not an unambiguous method as the categories overlap with each other and the process types are much dependent on the prevailing context and because of this the analysis depends to some degree also on the analyser. To better the comparability and validity of the analysis we examined narrations first together with the student colleague Roininen and discussed the analysis finally with Korpijaakko-Huuhka, the professor of logopedics in University of Tampere. In my data up to 23 per cent of the clauses were subjected to the final consensus discussion. The percentage was high and in this case tells us about the level of difficulty in analysing process semantics, especially in spontaneous speech. The inter-rater meeting was an open discussion, where I marked the discussed processes without documenting who analysed which particular process to which category. Utilising Cohen's kappa or Fleiss' kappa for quantifying inter-rater agreement would also have been telling, but it would have required more specific documentation.

Because *be* and *olla* were the most employed verbs in the text data and existential clauses are common in narratives, it would have been interesting to include the existential process category in the analysis (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, 257; cf. also Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011, 222 review). English and Finnish are two different types of languages and parallel analysis of the

two was not unproblematic. Having fewer categories made it somewhat easier to analyse and compare the two languages.

For analysing the children's lexical diversity I used TTR and NDW as measures. In English, the recommended sample size for counting TTR is 300 words (Prins & Bastiaance 2004, 1084). We should note, however, that English contains lexical items such as articles and prepositions which raise the number of words in a text (Korpijaakko-Huuhka, personal communication 2014). Grammatical case structures and suffixes again are characteristic of Finnish language and result to lexically more concise expressions when compared to English (e.g. *Istuuko sammakko yhä purkissa?* vs. 'Is the frog still sitting in the jar?'). Because there are no published studies in Finnish available on this subject-matter, Korpijaakko- Huuhka (personal communication 2014) has estimated that Finnish text data should be from70 to 100 words-wide, for TTR to be considered a practical measure of lexical diversity. In this study the amounts of all words in the children's texts varied from 61 to 383 word tokens in the English narrations and from 71 to 303 tokens in the Finnish counterparts. The Finnish narration, therefore, were all of sufficient length, whereas all the English narratives did not reach the advisable limit of 300 and were not always optimal for using TTR.

The closer the TTR is to 1.0 the less the text contains repetition of same verbs (Herdan 1960, 26–28). The TTR becomes lower as the texts become longer, because the same words are more likely to reoccur (Wright, Silverman & Newhoff 2003, 444 review). In this study the text length was not controlled and this was reflected in the scores of individual children. If we compared the scores of child C2 and child C13 in English narrations, child C2 used altogether 43 verbs tokens and 21 different types of verb. Her TTR was thus 0.49. With 24 verb tokens and 16 different types of verb child C13 had a TTR of 0.67. Child C2 realised verbs vastly, but with a seemingly low lexical diversity repeating the same words more of than child C13 who in turn realised processes economically and managed to execute a relatively greater lexical diversity. Both the children

displayed a story structure with an identifiable beginning, middle and an end, but child C2 concentrated in explaining the events by paying more attention to details. This may have been because of a personal style or the way the child reacted to the type of the task itself or the way it was instructed.

There was lot of variety among the individuals because the text length was not controlled. Nevertheless, at a group level the children used roughly the same amount of verbs in their English and Finnish narrations, and I considered it possible to compare the texts of different languages to each other. However, it is not unambiguous to compare two languages with different characteristics and interpret the results and therefore I counted the TTR and NWD also in a different way. To make the languages semantically more comparable I counted together the English verbs *be* and *have*, because in Finnish they are most often semantically both manifested with a single verb *olla*. I also differentiated transitive and intransitive forms in frequently occurring English verbs *drop* and *break* because in Finnish the forms are manifested differently: *tippua* and *rikkua* are intranstive forms and *tiputtaa* and *rikkoa* are transitive forms of the English verbs *to drop* and *to break*. Counted like this, both the TTR and NDW now supported each other and showed a statistically significant difference between the languages (TTR: Z=-2.2959; p = 0.02144 & NDW: Z = -2.8640 and p = 0.0042), which would mean that the children displayed a notably more diverse verb vocabulary when speaking Finnish. The results were even more prominent when the subgroup of children who knew Finnish better than English were studied (TTR: Z = -2.5784; p =0.0099 & NDW: Z=-2.9341; p= 0.0034). I would assume this change in the TTR result on the whole group level when compared to the first way of counting it occurred largely because *have* verb was quite common in the English narrations. In speech extracts as short and as varying in length as these, TTR seems to be sensitive to even a few word changes and the varying length of the texts. Overall, more profitable than comparing the results of two different languages to each other would be to

compare them to corresponding language specific norms if they were available for the particular type of discourse and for bilingual speakers.

5.3 Suggestions for future research

In Tampere logopedics department, there is an ongoing tradition of collecting data on child narrative skills and also this study at hand has been inspired by the logopedics child narrative research (Roininen 2014, 37). This thesis has been delimited to observing verbs, which play an essential role in the narrative discourse. Logopedics is a respectively new discipline and therefore there is little published research available on verb usage in Finnish speaking population let alone Finnish bilingual speakers.

In this study I did not observe the amount of verbs in relation to the rest of the lexicon. Undoubtedly, this would be profitable, because children with atypical language development may often narrate by employing proportionally lot of verbs (Mäkinen 2013). For example due to naming difficulties, children may condense their expressions to nearly mere verb cores (e.g. *runs away* vs. *the boy's pet dog runs away*) (*ibid*.). In addition, it would be interesting to examine how the bilingual children realise participants and circumstances in the stories (cf. chapter 2.3.2).

As also Roininen (2014, 33) noted, the frog-story functions well in studying children's language skills. In this study the task brought forward also some other interesting phenomena of language than the ones that were primarily examined. Performing this sort of a narrative task, however, is not a completely natural situation of language use. As a research method, it can be described as elicited semi-spontaneous narrative (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2011b). The structured methods utilised in this study undoubtedly have their benefits, but to gain a more complete understanding of bilingual children's verb usage and overall language skills their speech should be observed also in other discourses, such as more spontaneous playing situations or casual conversations — that is to say, in those natural and age appropriate contexts where the children

need and use language to communicate. In the future it would also be beneficial to study children with different languages combined to Finnish and children with different language input times.

In this study, the sample of children was relatively restricted, the individuals had varied backgrounds and the type of their bilingualism (simultaneous/successive) was not regulated. In addition, the number of girls and boys was not equal. Also with sample size this small, numeric results should always be considered critically. For the prospect of discovering some sort of norms in bilingual verb usage at a certain age and in a certain discourse type, the studies should be conducted in a manner where the children's mutual similarity and perhaps also the length of text samples are more accurately regulated.

Using SF-theory and narrative discourse would enable us to study bilingual children's language from also other aspects than the experiental representation of how children represent their world view by clauses they produce. The textual metafunction of language could be studied by examining how well the children are able to create the schematic structure of the story and realise cohesion and coherence in text (Korpijaakko-Huuhka 2003). How interaction between the individuals, roles and attitudes manifest themselves via speech again tell about the interpersonal metafunction of language (*ibid*.). Looking at the multiple levels of language would give a more complete picture of language skills and shed light on the possible strong and weak points of bilingual children's language development and skills.

6 CLONCUSION

This study told at least suggestively how six-year-old bilingual children with typical language development who knew at least Finnish and English used verbs in a cartoon-strip narration. Most of the children used all five semantic process categories telling the frog-story in English and in Finnish. Overall, the most employed category was the material process type and the least produced was the mental type. Regardless of the language the children narrated in, the proportional

demonstration of semantic process categories was roughly the same. There was no statistically significant difference in the total amounts of the verbs either when the two language specific narrative performances were compared. However, when it came to lexical diversity, the children seemed to realise typically a more various verb vocabulary in their Finnish than in their English stories. It could be concluded that perhaps the six-year-old children had established an ability to produce different semantic categories in narrating a story and they were able to produce the semantic spheres in both the languages. Nevertheless, the verb vocabulary as such had probably developed to be more extensive in Finnish and the children were thus able to realise a more diverse verb lexicon in that language presumably because they had often begun to acquire Finnish earlier than English or more accurately because they had had more discourse opportunities in Finnish during their lives. It appeared also that at six year of age girls and boys did not differ from each other notably in terms of verb usage in a narrative task. Clear variation between individuals was, nonetheless, detectable.

Based on the results of this study, a closer examination of the diversity of the verb lexicon alongside with the semantic process category analysis is interesting and telling. This study has also exemplified some of the similarities as well as varieties that exist among bilingual speakers and generated some ideas for future linguistic and logopedics studies as more research is inevitably needed in Finnish bilingual children. Verb usage in bilingual children with typical language development should be studied with larger groups of informants and in various discourse situations in order for us to discover norms regarding the development and general features of verb usage. This information could be utilised to support children's bilingual language development and to identify language disorders.

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APPENDIX 1: Tables of process use and an example of data displayed in Excel file

Table A: Distribution of process types per language per child

	Child narrative	MAT	MENT	REL	BEH	VERB
English	**All (n=18)**	**244**	**36**	**195**	**108**	**50**
	C1	7	0	13	2	3
	C2	20	2	10	4	7
	C3	19	1	15	1	1
	C4	16	1	13	6	5
	C5	13	3	12	5	6
	C6	12	0	15	7	2
	C7	25	3	10	3	6
	C8	12	1	10	3	0
	C9	11	4	3	6	2
	C10	7	4	12	7	1
	C11	3	2	1	3	1
	C12	16	1	12	5	1
	C13	8	3	7	5	1
	C15	12	0	9	1	0
	C16	15	2	6	15	2
	C18	16	4	16	10	3
	C19	19	1	11	13	3
	C20	13	4	20	12	6
Finnish	**All (n=18)**	**278**	**43**	**191**	**126**	**39**
	C1	12	0	6	3	4
	C2	29	11	16	6	5
	C3	16	2	14	5	0
	C4	16	3	6	8	2
	C5	17	2	11	8	1
	C6	15	0	14	6	2
	C7	22	3	15	6	4
	C8	13	3	10	2	0
	C9	11	3	5	6	3
	C10	8	1	10	12	2
	C11	7	0	3	8	1
	C12	19	1	14	7	1
	C13	7	1	8	4	1
	C15	9	1	4	3	0
	C16	12	5	8	11	2
	C18	23	3	12	10	2
	C19	19	2	15	10	3
	C20	23	2	20	11	6
English & Finnish	**All (N=36)**	**522**	**79**	**386**	**234**	**89**

Table B: Distribution of processes by gender and language

	English Narrations			Finnish Narrations		
Girls (n=6)	**amount**	**range**	**average**	**amount**	**range**	**average**
All	206	24–47	34.33	240	21–67	40.00
MAT	82	7–20	13.67	95	7–29	15.83
MENT	12	1–4	2.00	19	1–11	3.17
REL	62	7–12	10.00	73	8–16	12.17
BEH	37	3–13	6.17	41	2–12	6.83
VERB	13	0–7	2.17	12	0–5	2.00
Boys (n=12)	**amount**	**range**	**average**	**amount**	**range**	**average**
All	427	10–55	35.58	437	17–62	36.42
MAT	162	3–25	13.5	183	7–23	15.25
MENT	24	0–4	2	24	0–5	2
REL	133	1–20	11.08	118	3–20	9.83
BEH	71	1–15	5.92	85	3–11	7.08
VERB	37	0–6	3.08	27	0–6	2.25

An example display of verb processes and children's background information in MS Excel file

Name	Age	Gender	Number o	L1	Best langu	Language	Line	Utterance	MAT	MENT	REL	BEH	VERB
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E1	a boy wh	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E2	they foun	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E3	and den a	0	0	0	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E4	an' then t	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E5	and den (.	0	0	2	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E6	an' den th	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E7	and den a	0	0	0	0	1
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E8	an' den (.)	1	0	0	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E9	and den h	1	0	0	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E10	an' den he	0	0	0	0	1
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E11	and den th	0	0	1	0	1
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E12	an' then th	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E13	eez an' de	0	0	1	0	0
C1	6;3	male	3	Finnish, O	E	E	E14	an' den th	0	0	0	1	0

APPENDIX 2: Transcription marks

[Applied from the transcription marks used by Korpijaakko-Huuhka (doctoral thesis 2003)]

Abbreviations and symbols in the transcriptions

C	child
S	researcher
(.)	pause (duration not specified)
in+the	words pronounced in immediate succession
an’	phoneme omission
fro:g	elongated phoneme
(-)/(--)/(---)	unclear phoneme or syllable/unclear word/longer unclear expression
(dog)	word heard unclearly
‘deer’	translation: word meaning in English or in Finnish

Abbreviations and symbols in the process analysis

MAT	material
MENT	mental
REL	relational
BEH	behavioural
VERB	verbal
-V	verb element missing
-	expression not analysed or counted
Ø	ellipsis (number indices attached to an ellipsis-symbol indicate to which lexical item [in square brackets] the ellipsis refers to
“slept”	quotation marks: original form altered for semantic analysis
	underlining: verb connected to the presiding verb
[[found]]	researcher’s interpretation of the word meaning
*	the clause continues

APPENDIX 3: Six-year-old bilingual children's frog-story narrations in English and in Finnish

Narrations 1–2/36

C: *mmm (.) what w'z it (.) what w'z: i:t* -
S: *are you thinking about how (.) how to start a story (.)*
ah
you c'n start (.) once upon a time there was
C:

1)	*a boy who could (--) a do:g and den they(.) an' den they: (.) had a frog*	REL they had a frog
2)	*they found a frog an' (.) frog at the night+time*	REL they found a frog
3)	*and den an' den they were sleeping*	BEH they were sleeping
4)	*an' then the: fro:g g (.) w'z: awa:y when he was sleeping*	REL the frog w'z away BEH he was sleeping
5)	*and den (.) an' den at the morning (.) h he was very afraid coz coz de fro:g waz away an' den*	REL he was very afraid REL de fro:g waz away
6)	*an' den they were (.) trying to find+hit um*	REL they were trying to find+hit
7)	*and den an' he waz (.) he waz calling for him outside*	VERB he waz calling for him
8)	*an' den (.) an' den (.) an+den his do:g went to out from the of the window*	MAT his do:g went out from the window
9)	*and den he he broke the glass an+den*	MAT he broke the glass
10)	*an' den he said bad doggy an+den*	VERB he said bad doggy
11)	*and den they were again trying to find him an' den they they were shouting for him+man' den*	REL they were trying to find him VERB they were shouting for him
12)	*an' then they were trying to fi (.) find it from the from the bee::z*	REL they were trying to find it from the bee::z
13)	*eez an' den dey (.) they were trying to find it from the (.) holes*	REL they were trying to find him from the holes
14)	*an' den they were fi (.) finding him from the (.) from the trees*	BEH they were finding [[looking for]] him from the trees
15)	*and they ee trying toh (.) find (.) them in snow (phooles)*	REL they were trying to find them in snow (phooles)
16)	*an+den+dey+were trying toh (.) to (.) find (.) them*	-
17)	*an+den a moose pushed them down the hill an+den*	MAT a moose pushed them down the hill
18)	*an+den they found him in the water*	BEH they found [[looked for]] him in the water
19)	*an+den they (.) they were ok*	REL they were ok
20)	*an+den they went on a (.) an' den they went on a (.) on+na boat*	MAT they went on a boat
21)	*and den they were trying to find him*	REL they were trying to find him
22)	*and den the fro:g was was in the other side of the boat*	REL the fro:g was in the other side of the boat
23)	*an' de:n an' then an' then they went over the lake again an+den they went backh*	MAT they went over the lake MAT they went backh
24)	*an then they went back home*	MAT they went back home
25)	*de end*	-

C:

1)	*si siel+loli yksi poika ja yksi koira*	REL siel+loli yksi poika ja yksi koira
2)	*ja sitten+ne löysi yhen (.) n (.) sammakon ja sitten*	REL ne löysi yhen sammakon
3)	*kun kun se poika olis nukkumassa sitten se sammakko meni pois ja sitten*	BEH se poika olis nukkumassa MAT se sammakko meni pois
4)	*ja sitten kun+ne heräs sitten*	BEH ne heräs
5)	*sitten se sammakko oli poissa*	REL sammakko oli poissa
6)	*ja sitten*	-
7)	*ja sitten n' oli: yrittämässä löytää sitä*	REL ne oli yrittämässä löytää sitä
8)	*ja siitten (.) n' oli huutamassa*	VERB ne oli huutamassa
9)	*ja niitten koira (.) rikko sen lasin*	MAT koira rikko sen lasin
10)	*ja sitten (.) ja sitten meni ulos (.) huutamaan*	MAT Ø meni ulos VERB Ø "huusi"
11)	*ja sitten ne meni (.) ampiaispesälle huutamaan niitä*	MAT [ne]1 meni ampiaispesälle VERB Ø1 "huusi" niitä
12)	*ja sitten ne meni (.) puuhun huutamaan niitä*	MAT [ne]2 meni puuhun VERB Ø2"huusi"niitä
13)	*ja sitten ne meni (.) meni puu (.) ja sitten meni puuhun*	-
14)	*mmm mmm ni ja sitten se meni (.) toiseen paikkaan löytääs+sitä*	MAT [ne]3 meni BEH Ø3 "löysi" sitä [[etsi]]
15)	*ja sittes+se meni ja sitten s siellä oli (.) mö:rkö*	MAT se meni REL siellä oli mö:rkö
16)	*ja sitten siel ja sitten se puskas ne puo (.) mäen alas*	MAT sitte se puskas ne mäen alas
17)	*ja sitten (.) ja sitten ne (.) ne tipahtih veteen*	MAT ne tipahtih veteen
18)	*ja sitten (.) ja sitten näe puun*	-
19)	*ja sitten ne meni sen (.) sen ylitse ja sitten*	MAT ne meni sen ylitse
20)	*ja sitten se (.) se sammakko oli (.) siellä*	REL se sammakko oli siellä
21)	*ja sitten (.) ne otti se+mukaan*	MAT ne otti se+mukaan
22)	*ja sitten+ne+meni kotiin*	MAT ne+meni kotiin

Narrations 3–4/36

S: *you're thinking about like (.) how to start a story*
yeah (.) how about like um (.) once upon a time there was
an' who's in the story
C:

1) a boy

S: yeah
C:

2)	*and he had a frog*	REL he had a frog
3)	*an' when the boy was sleeping the frog (.) went (.) away*	BEH the boy was sleeping MAT the frog went away
4)	*an' they searched him(.) searched him*	BEH they searched him
5)	*outside*	-
6)	*first from (--)*	-
7)	*they searched from holes*	BEH they searched from holes
8)	*(--)*	-
9)	*(---)*	-
10)	*they (.) stepped on a rock*	MAT they stepped on a rock

11) *and they saw a moose* — MENT they saw a moose
12) *then they fell into a pond* — MAT they fell into a pond
13) *and then (.) then (.) they saw the frog* — MENT they saw a frog
14) *and then they said bye bye* — VERB they said bye bye

C:
1) *olipa kerran poika (.) millä oli sammakko* — REL olipa kerran poika
REL millä oli sammakko

S: mmm
C:
2) *kun poika oli nukkumassa (.) sammakko lähti pois* — BEH poika oli nukkumassa
MAT sammakko lähti pois
3) *sit (.) sit ne etsi (.) etsi* — BEH [ne]1 etsi
4) *etsi ulkoo* — BEH Ø1 etsi ulkoo
5) *etsi mäeltä* — BEH Ø1 etsi mäeltä
6) *etsi (.) rei'istä* — BEH Ø1 etsi rei'istä
7) *etsi korkeelta* — BEH Ø1 etsi korkeelta
8) *etsi puusta* — BEH Ø1 etsi puusta
9) *etsi kivistä (.) 'iviltä* — BEH Ø1 etsi kiviltä
10) *hirvi nous (.)ja juoksenneli sem+päällä* — MAT [hirvi]2 nous
MAT Ø2 jouksenneli
11) *sit se hirvi putos* — -
12) *ja sit se hirvi meinas putoo* — MAT se hirvi meinas putoo
13) *ja sit poika putos veteen* — MAT poika putos veteen
14) *sit (.) sit se meni oksan yli* — MAT se meni oksan yli
15) *sieltä se löysi sammakot* — REL sieltä se löysi sammakot
S: *mmm*
C:
16) *ja sit se sano (.) ja sit se sano heippa ja lähti* — VERB [se]2 sano heippa
MAT Ø2 lähti

Narrations 5–6 /36

C: *what I'm gonna do again*
S: *umm you can tell the story that's in the book*
you can tell it in your own words
C: *mmm*
S: *you can start for example by*
o:nce upon a time there was a bo:y an'
if you like to start that way
you can just tell me what's happening like in the book like
if if I didn't see the pictures at all so you could describe what's in the book
C: *yes*

S: *yeah*
C: *mmm (.) mmm*
C:

1)	*once upon a time there was a boy*	REL there was a boy
2)	*he had a frog*	REL he had a frog

S: *that's a good start*
C13:

3)	*then it was night+time (.) an' he went to sleep*	REL it was night+time MAT [he] 1 went BEH Ø1 "slept"
4)	*but then the frog ran away*	MAT the frog ran away
5)	*the:n (.) the boy wake up an'*	BEH the boy wake up
6)	*he peeked (.) and found the frog*	BEH[he]2 peeked BEH Ø2 found [[looked for]] the frog
7)	*it was not in the shirt*	REL it was not in the shirt
8)	*not outsi:de*	-V
9)	*then he went to the forest (.) to see*	MAT [he]3 went to the forest MENT Ø3 "saw"
10)	*it was not (.) in (.) in the birdnest*	REL it was not in the birdnest
11)	*not (.) i (.) in the tree*	-V
12)	*in the tree there was living a' owl*	BEH in the tree there was living a' owl
13)	*then he found the big rock*	REL he found the big rock
14)	*an' the owel was following*	MAT the owel was following
15)	*then he saw an animal*	MENT he saw an animal
16)	*he went to the animals back to ride*	MAT [he]4 went to the animals back MAT Ø4 "rode"
17)	*then the animal pushed to the (.) water*	MAT the animal pushed to the water
18)	*an' the boy fell to the water*	MAT the boy fell to the water
19)	*then (.) he found*	-
20)	*then he heard the frog's+sound*	MENT he heard the frog's+sound
21)	*and then he followet (.) the sount*	MAT he followet the sount
22)	*then he found the frog*	REL he found the frog and
23)	*and+then (.) then he said (.) bye*	VERB he said bye
24)	*the: end*	-V

C:

1)	*yhdellä kerralla (.) siellä oli joku poika*	REL siellä oli poika
2)	*sitten se meni nukkuun*	MAT [se]1 meni BEH Ø1 "nukku"
3)	*mut sitten (.) sammako lähti*	MAT sammakko lähti
4)	*sitten (.) se poika kattosi sen kuppiin ja siellä ei ollu sammakko*	BE poika kattosi sen kuppiin ja REL siellä ei ollu sammakko
5)	*ei ulkona*	-
6)	*sitten (.) se meni etsimään se*	MAT [se]2 meni BEH Ø1 " etsi"
7)	*se ei ollu puussa*	REL se ei ollu puussa
8)	*se ei ollu puun reikässä*	REL se ei ollu puun reikässä
9)	*puun reikässä oli pöllö*	REL puun reikässä oli pöllö
10)	*sitten se löysi (.) iso kivi*	REL se löysi iso kivi

11) *mut siellä asui (.) kir (.) mmm (.) hirvi* — BEH siellä asui hirvi

S: *hmm*

C:

12) *ja sitten (.) sitten se meni sen kanssa* — MAT se meni sen kanssa
13) *ja sitten se hirvi työnsi sen* — MAT hirvi työnsi sen
14) *se poika tippu (.) tippu siin vetelle* — MAT poika tippu vetelle
15) *sitten (.) se löysi (.) ne (.) ne sammakot* — REL se löysi ne sammakot
16) *sitten (.) se halusi ottaa yksi* — MENT [se]3 halusi MAT Ø3 ottaa yksi
17) *sitten se löysi yks* — REL se löysi yks
18) *ja sitten se sano heippa* — VERB se sano heippa
19) *sen pituinen se* — -V

Narrations 7–8/36

C: *so I will tell what happens*
S: *yeah*
C:

1) *first there was the dog looked into a frog* — BEH the dog looked into a frog
2) *an' then a boy looked at it too* — BEH a boy looked at it

S: *mmm*
C:

3) *then the boy wanted to dress up* — MENT [the boy]2 wanted MAT Ø 2 "<u>dressed up</u>"
4) *and then the dog looked inside it* — BEH the dog looked inside it
5) *and the frog wasn't there anymore* — REL the frog wasn't there anymore

S: *oh*
C:

6) *then the dog had to (.) ha (.) have the glass (.) jar in her head* — REL the dog have the glass jar in her head
7) *and they went outside* — MAT they went outside
8) *and then (.) the dog jum (.) jumped of: the winter (.) em of: the wind (.)ee window* — MAT the dog jumped off the window
9) *and the:n(.) the boy (.) jumped there too (.) and the glass j:ar went broken* — MAT the boy jumped there; REL the glass j:ar went broken
10) *the:n they went outsi:de* — MAT they went outsi:de
11) *and the:n there was a beehive* — REL there was a beehive
12) *the beeskp ja+ gu+'re just coming out: (.) out* — MAT the bees were just coming out
13) *the:n (.) the do:g was g(.) jumping into the beehive* — MAT the dog was jumping
14) *an' the:n (.) the boy looked into a hole* — BEH the boy looked into a hole
15) *an' the:n (.) they ha:ve (.) the do:g em (.) pushed the tree dat the beehive (.) came (.) mm (.)fell down* — MAT the dog pushed the tree; MAT the beehive fell down
16) *and then the boy looked into a hole (.) what was in the tree* — BEH the boy looked into a hole; REL what was in the tree
17) *there was an owl* — REL there was an owl
18) *the dog went away 'cause the bees were (.) mad and they wanted (.) they were flying after the dog* — MAT the dog went away

REL the bees were mad
MAT they were flying after the dog

19) *the owl was (.) still (.) flying on top of the boy* — MAT the owl was flying
20) *and the:n (.) the boy jumped into (.) on top of a rock* — MAT the boy jumped
21) *an' behind there (.) was a reindeer* — REL behind there was a reindeer
22) *the reind (.) deh (.) the (.) boy wa:(.) was stuck in the reindeer's h :orns* — REL the boy was stuck in the reindeer's horns
23) *an' then (.) the reindeer pushed the (.) em the boy into (.) a (.) little lake* — MAT the reindeer pushed the boy
24) *the:n there wa:s a fro:g* — REL there was a fro:g
25) *and then (.) the boy (.) picked up the fro:g* — MAT the boy picked up the fro:g
26) *then: the boy (.) went out of the re:ber (.)river* — MAT the boy went out of the river
27) *and there (.) was (.) the (.) fro:g's family* — REL there was the fro:gs family
28) *the:n (.) they were in the lake an' took (.) a one fro:g 'cause (.) the (.) the frog's parents said so*

REL [they]3 were in the lake
MAT Ø3 took one fro:g
VERB the frog's parents said so

C:

1) *olipa kerran (.) poika* — REL olipa kerran poika
2) *ja (.) koira (.) katsoi (.) mm (.) katsoi (.) öö sammakkoa (.) joka oli lasipurkissa* — BEH koira katsoi sammakkoa
REL joka oli lasipurkissa
3) *sitten (.) sammakko hyppäsi pois (.) lasipurkista kun poika nukkui* — MAT sammakko hyppäsi pois
BEH poika nukkui
4) *sitten poika katsoi ihmeissään* — BEH poika katsoi ihmeissään
5) *ja koira ihmetteli (.)et koska sammakko oli kadonnut* — BEH koira ihmetteli
REL sammakko oli kadonnut
6) *sitten (.) poika halusi pukea vaatteet* — MENT[poika]1 halusi MAT Ø 1 "puki" vaatteet
7) *ja koira katsoi sin (.) öm (.) lasipurkin sisälle (.) ja jäi kiinni* — BEH[koira]2 katsoi lasipurkin sisälle
REL Ø2 jäi kiinni
8) *sitten he (.) öm (.) koira (.) hyppäsi pois (.) ö ulos ikkunasta (.) lasipurkki päässään* — MAT koira hyppäsi ulos ikkunasta

S: *hmm*

C:

9) *poika oli (.) öm (.) suuttunut kun h öm hän (.) hyppäsi (.) ikkunasta lasipurkki päässään* — REL poika oli suuttunut
MAT hän hyppäsi ikkunasta
10) *ja se meni rikki* — REL se meni rikki
11) *sitten he menivät metsään* — MAT he menivät metsään
12) *metsässä oli (.) ampiaispesä* — REL metsässä oli ampiaispesä
13) *ampiaiset olivat juuri tulossa ulos* — MAT ampiaiset olivat juuri tulossa ulos
14) *sitten (.) hek menivät lähemmäs* — MAT he menivät lähemmäs
15) *koira hyppeli (.) öm (.) ampiaispesän alla (.) ja yrittäen saada sen+kiin: (.) öm (.) irti puusta (.) hm*
MAT [koira]3 hyppeli REL Ø 3 "yritti saada" sen irti puusta
16) *se tippui alas (.) ja meni rikki* — MAT [se]4 tippui alas
REL Ø4 meni rikki
17) *ampiaiset suuttuivat (.) ja jahtasivat koiraa* — BEH [ampiaiset]5 suuttuivat
MAT Ø5 jahtasivat koiraa
18) *sillä välin (.) poika kiipesi puuhun* — MAT poika kiipesi puuhun

19) *ja (.) samalla hän katsoi reikään (.) jo (.) joka oli puussa*	BEH hän katsoi reikään REL joka oli puussa
20) *sitten (.) sieltä me(.) tuli pöllö*	MAT sieltä tuli pöllö
21) *ja sitten ampiaiset jahtasivat koiraa edelleen*	MAT ampiaiset jahtasivat koiraa
22) *sittem+pöllö oli pojan yläpuolella*	REL pöllö oli pojan yläpuolella
23) *sitten hän kiipesi kivelle*	MAT hän kiipesi kivelle
24) *ja siellä takana oli poro*	REL siellä takana oli poro
25) *sitten (.) hän jäi poron sarviin+kiinni*	REL hän jäi poron sarviin kiinni

S: *mmm*

C:

26) *ja poro (.) tiputti hänet lampeen*	MAT poro tiputti hänet lampeen
27) *ja sitten (.) koira tippui hänen perässä*	MAT koira tippui hänen perässä
28) *si:e:llä oli sammakko*	REL si:e:llä oli sammakko
29) *ja sitten (.) he (.) nostivat sammakon ylös*	MAT he nostivat sammakon ylös
30) *ja veivät hänet hänen perheelleen*	MAT he veivät hänet
31) *he sanoivat että hän voi ottaa yhden (.) sammakonpoikasista*	VERB he sanoivat MAT hän voi ottaa yhden sammakonpoikasista

Narrations 9–10/36

S:
are you wondering how how to start a story
yeah
mmm
how about ones upon a ti:me (.) there (.) was

C:

1) *there was first (.)a boy*	REL there was a boy

S: *yeah (.) that's good*

C:

2) *who found a frog*	REL who found a frog

S: *aah*

C:

3) *and then they put it (.) to a (.) glass (.) jar*	MAT they put it to glass jar

S: *hmm*

C:

4) *an' then the boy was looking at it*	BEH the boy was looking at it
5) *an' then the boy went to sleep*	MAT [the boy]1 went BEH Ø1 "<u>slept</u>"
6) *an' then (.) when they were sleeping*	BEH they were sleeping
7) *the fro:g (.) went out of the ja (.) glass (.) jar*	MAT the frog went out of the glass jar
8) *an' the:n (.) when it was mo:rnin'*	REL it was morning
9) *the boy looked at the glass jar*	BEH the boy looked at the glass jar
10) *an' there was (.) no fro:g*	REL there was no frog
11) *so then (.) the boy went to look where it was*	MAT [the boy]2 went MAT Ø2 "<u>looked</u>"

		REL where it was
12)	*a:n ten (.) they are looking (.)where could the do:g (.) the frog be*	BEH they are looking REL where could the frog be
13)	*an' then they looked (.) a- out of the window*	BEH they looked out of the window
14)	*but then the (.) dog fell out of the window*	MAT the dog fell out of the window
15)	*an' then the boy went also*	MAT the boy went
16)	*an' then (.) he was angry for the dog*	REL he was angry
17)	*'cause he broke the (.) glass jar*	MAT he broke the glass jar
18)	*an' the:n (.) the boy went to look outsi:de (.) to the for:est*	MAT[the boy]3 went BEH Ø3 "looked"
19)	*an' then (.) a boy was looking (.)to the hole*	BEH a boy was looking
20)	*but there was no fro:g*	REL there was no fro:g
21)	*an' then the do:g was looking to the beehive*	BEH the boy was looking
22)	*an' then the beehive fell*	MAT the beehive fell
23)	*an' then(.) the boy looked on the tree*	BEH the boy looked on the tree
24)	*a:n' instead of any fro:g (.)there came owel*	MAT there came owel
25)	*an' then the bees went (.) after the do:g*	MAT bees went after the dog
26)	*and the dog ran away*	MAT the dog ran away
27)	*an' then the boy (.)went on a rock*	MAT the boy went on a rock
28)	*an' then he was sh (.) shouting (.) where would be the fro:g*	VERB he was shouting
29)	*an' the:n (.) a deer came*	MAT a deer came
30)	*an' lifted the bo:y*	MAT lifted the boy
31)	*an' then h (.) the deer was (.) runnin'*	MAT the deer was runnin'
32)	*an' then (.) the boy an' the dog fell (.)to the water*	MAT the boy and the dog fell
33)	*an' then (.)they looked up*	BEH they looked up
34)	*an' then they saw (.) a lo:g*	MENT they saw a log
35)	*an' then theyh (.) an' then the dog was a little bit noisy*	REL the dog was a little bit noisy
S: *mmm*		
C:		
36)	*an' then the boy said (.) be quiet*	VERB the boy said REL be quiet
37)	*an' then (.) they looked (.)on the nother side of the log*	BEH looked on the other side
38)	*and then they (.) found two fro:gs an' then (.) baby+frogs*	REL they found two fro:gs
39)	*a:n' the:n (.) they took one baby fro:g*	MAT they took one baby fro:g
40)	*an' then they went home an' said bye bye: (.)to the fro:gs*	MAT they went home VERB said bye bye to the fro:gs

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C:		
1)	*eli (.) ekaksi (.) sielä oli poika ja koira*	REL siellä oli poika ja koira
2)	*ja ne löysi (.)sammakon*	REL ne löysi sammakon
3)	*ja sitten+neh (.) pisti sen (.) kulhoon*	MAT neh pisti sen kulhoon
4)	*ja sitten (.) koska oli ilta niin ne meni nukkumaan*	REL oli ilta MAT [ne]1 meni BEH Ø1 "nukku"
5)	*ja sitten se (.) se sammakko (.) meni pois siitä kulhosta*	MAT sammakko meni pois
6)	*ja sitten kun+oli aamu (.) ne katsoi siihen (.) kulhoon*	REL oli aamu

	BEH ne katsoi siihen kulhoon
7) *ja sitten siellä ei ollu yhtään sammakkoa*	REL siellä ei ollu yhtään sammakkoa
8) *niin (.) niin ne meni etsimään sitä sammakkoo*	MAT [ne]2 meni BEH Ø2 ”etsi”
9) *ja sitten (.) ne ets(.) ne etsi ekaks sen huo (.) sem+pojan huoneesta*	BEH ne etsi
10) *ja sitten ne katsoi (.) ulos ikkunasta*	BEH katsoi ulos
11) *mutta sitte se (.) koira putos ja rikkoi sen (.) kulhon*	MAT [koira]3 putos
	MAT Ø3 rikkoi
12) *ja sitten se poika näh (.) oli vähän*	-
13) *ja sitten (.) ne meni ulos metsään*	MAT ne meni ulos
14) *ja sitten ne huutoi että missä on se (.) sammakko*	VERB ne huutoi
	REL missä on se sammakko
15) *ja sitten+ne meni metsään*	MAT ne meni metsään
16) *ja sitten se poika katsoi maasta*	BEH poika katsoi maasta
17) *mutta siellä ei ollu mitään (.) sammakkoa*	REL siellä ei ollut mitään
18) *ja sitten se koira katsoi (.) puusta*	BEH koira katsoi puusta
19) *ja sitten siellä ei ollu mitään sammakkoja*	REL siellä ei ollu mitään sammakkoja
20) *ja sitten (.) siellä oli vaan (.) ampiaisen koti*	REL siellä oli vaan ampiaisen koti
21) *ja sitten se putos (.) siitä (.) se maahan*	MAT se putos
22) *ja sitten+ne ampiaiset tuli pois*	MAT [ampiaiset]4 tuli pois
23) *ja sitte j jahtas sitä koiraa*	MAT Ø4 jahtas koiraa
24) *ja se poika katsoi sieltä (.) puusta (.) jos olis mitään (.) sammakkoita*	BEH poika katsoi puusta
	REL jos olis mitään sammakoita
25) *mutta ei (.) mutta siellä ei ollu mitään sammakoita*	REL siellä ei ollu sammakoita
26) *mutta siellä oli (.) pöllö*	REL siellä oli pöllö
27) *ja sit ne ampiaiset meni sen koi:ran perästä*	MAT ampiaiset meni sen koi:ran perästä
28) *ja sitte (.) se pöllö (.) lensi pois*	MAT pöllö lensi pois
29) *ja sitten se poika (.) meni sen+kiven päältä*	MAT [poika]5 meni sen kiven päältä
30) *ja sitte huut (.) huusi että missä ois se (.) sammakko:*	VERB Ø5 huusi
	REL missä ois se sammakko:
31) *ja sitten (.) ja sitten (.) sitten kun se ei nähnyt*	MENT se ei nähnyt
32) *niin sitten (.) se (.) elä:in niin (.) se nosti sen pojan*	MAT se eläin nosti sen pojan
33) *ja sitten se (.) meni juoksemaan*	MAT [se]6 meni MAT Ø6 ”juoksi”
34) *ja sitten se pudotti sen pojan ja sen (.) koiran (.) lammikkoon*	MAT se pudotti pojan ja koiran
35) *ja sitte:n (.) ne katseli ylös ja sitten siellä oli (.) kaadettu puu*	BEH ne katseli ylös
	REL siellä oli puu
36) *ja sitten (.) ne katsoi sen kaadetun p:uun toiselle puolelle*	BEH ne katsoi
37) *ja sitten ne näkih (.) kaks (.) sammakkoo ja ’iitten laps(-)*	MENT ne näki kaks sammakkoo
38) ja sitten ne (.) otti yhden sammakon ja sanoi heippa niille muille sammakoille	
	MAT ne otti sammakon
	VERB sanoi heippa
39) *ja se oli loppu*	REL se oli loppu

Narrations 11–12/36

C:

1)	*once upon a time there lived a little boy who had a frog: (.) in a (.) this kind+of jar*	REL there lived a boy REL who had a frog
2)	*when the boy was sleeping (.) the frog jumped away from the glass (.)jar*	BEH the boy was sleeping MAT the frog jumped away
3)	*when the boy waked up he didn't find (.) his frog (.) in the jar*	BEH the boy waked up REL he didn't find his frog
4)	*so they looked (.) under a shoe and he still looked from a jar and was there anything*	BEH they looked under a shoe BEH he looked from a jar REL was there anything
5)	*an' nowhere was nothing*	REL nowhere was nothing
6)	*lhen (.) a do (.) lhen the boy's dog w looked from the window but he fall and the jar went broke*	BEH the dog looked from the window MAT he fall REL the jar went broke
7)	*vhey called the frog but nowhere (.) they didn't see a frog*	VERB they called the frog MENT they didn't see a frog
8)	*there was a (.) beehive*	REL there was a beehive
9)	*and a the dog um hopped and wanded to see the bees (.) but no*	MAT the [dog]1 hopped MENT Ø1 wanded MENT Ø1 "saw"
10)	*but vhen (.) the beehi' dropped an' then the bees (.) started (.) do buzz*	MAT the beehi' dropped BEH started do buzz
11)	*and vhey flied towards the (.) the boy's dog*	MAT vhey flied
12)	*but they didn't find nothing*	REL they didn't find nothing
13)	*but vhen under a rock there was a hh hhh ts*	-

S: *are you wondering what the animal is called*

C:

14)	*yes*	-

S: *I think it's a deer do you think it's a deer (.) yeah*

C:

15)	*under a rock there was a deer*	REL under a rock there was a deer
16)	*and he and the deer grabbed the boy (.) and the dog*	MAT the deer grabbed the boy and the dog
17)	*an' it falled them (.) in (.) a lake*	MAT it falled [dropt] them in a lake
18)	*and vhey heared something*	MENT vhey heared something
19)	*thvey looked under a log:*	BEH thvey looked under a log
20)	*and thlen they find two: frogs*	REL they find two: frogs
21)	*that's maybe our frog*	REL that's our frog
22)	*an'+dey find it*	REL dey find it

C:	
1) *yhden kerran (.) asui pieni sammakko yhden pojan luona (.) yhdessä lasi (.) hh lasi (.) lasipurkissa*	BEH yhden kerran asui pieni sammakko yhden pojan luona
S: *nii justii*	
C:	
2) *kun poika oli nukkumassa (.) sa (.) sammakko hyppäs lasipurkista pois*	BEH poika oli nukkumassa MAT sammakko hyppäs lasipurkista pois
3) *ja kun+neh heräsi niin ei ollut mitään lasipurkissa*	BEH neh heräsi REL ei ollut mitään lasipurkissa
4) *ne etsi joka paikasta (.) kengästä*	BEH ne etsi joka paikasta
5) *jah pojan koira kattoi lasipurkista oliks+sielä jotain*	BEH koira kattoi lasipurkista REL oliks+sielä jotain
6) *mut ei ollut*	REL ei ollu
7) *poika kattoi ikkunasta ja myös (.) ja myös koira*	BEH poika kattoi ikkunasta
8) *ja koira putos ikkunasta*	MAT koira putos ikkunasta
9) *ja (.) lasi meni rikki*	REL lasi meni rikki
10) *poika huusi ja huusi mut ei mitään kuulunut*	VERB poika huusi REL ei mitään kuulunut
11) *silloin ne kattoi joka kolosta ja jo (.) joka mehiläispesästä*	BEH ne kattoi joka kolosta
12) *mutta+kun koira hai (.) haukkui (.) niin+kovaa että (.) niitten pesä kaatui puusta*	VERB koira haukkui MAT niitten pesä kaatui
13) *ja ne kattoi joka puolelta mut ei mitään*	BEH ne kattoi joka puolelta
14) *sitten mehiläiset kat (.) äm suuttuivat ja lensivät koiraa vastaan*	BEH [mehiläiset]1 suuttuivat MAT Ø1 lensivät koiraa vastaan
15) *ja alkoivat pistää koiraa*	MAT Ø 1 alkoivat pistää koiraa
16) *ik (.) ja: poika kattoi kiven+alta*	BEH poika kattoi kiven alta
17) *ja sieltä löytyi hirvi*	REL sieltä löytyi hirvi
18) *hirvi vei pojan (.) ja koiran ja heitti ne (.) lampeen*	MAT [hirvi]2 vei pojan ja koiran MAT Ø 2 heitti ne lampeen
19) *lammessa oli mutaista ja (.) vettä paljon*	REL lammessa oli mutaista ja vettä paljon
20) *niin+ne kuulivat ääntä*	MENT ne kuulivat ääntä
21) *ne näkivät (.) ja poika sano koiralle että ole hiljaa*	VERB poika sano koiralle REL ole hiljaa
22) *ja sitten+ne kattoi (.)hmm puun tak: (.) puun takaa*	BEH ne kattoi puun takaa
S: *mmm*	
C:	
23) *ja sieltä löytyi tuttösammakko ja poikasammakko*	REL sieltä löytyi tuttösammakko ja poikasammakko
S: *hhmm*	
C:	
24) *ja pieniä sammakoita*	-
25) *ne löysi niitten+noman sammakon*	REL ne löysi nitten+noman sammakon
26) *ja ne lähtivät kotiin*	MAT ne lähtivät kotiin

Narrations 13–14/36

C:

1)	*Once upon a time (.) i a boy had (.)a fro:g*	REL a boy had a fro:g
2)	*and h (.)when he went to sleep(.) the fro:g (.) the fro:g (.) climbet off*	MAT [he]1 went BEH Ø1 "<u>slept</u>" MAT the fro:g climbet off
3)	*and when he woke up (.) wake (.) woke (.) up (.) then (.) he saw dat (.) in(.) in deh (.) can was no frog anymore*	BEH he woke up MENT he saw REL in deh can was no frog
4)	*so (.) he went to put his (.) clothe on*	MAT [he]2 went MAT Ø2 "<u>put</u>" his clothe on
5)	*an' then (.) he was shouting (.) for his fro:g*	VERB he was shouting for his frog
6)	*and (.) den (.) his dog (.) falled (.) down*	MAT his dog falled down
7)	*'n den he was really angry (.) to him*	REL he was really angry
8)	*and then they were shouting for the (.) f: fro:g*	VERB they were shouting for the fro:g
9)	*an' den all the beez de went to the hey (.) ey (.) the nest*	MAT the beez went to the nest
10)	*and then (.) they shouted to the hall*	VERB they shouted to the hall
11)	*an' then (.) theh (.) and then some mouse (.) bited his nose*	MAT some mouse bited his nose
12)	*then (.) they went to a (.) then they climped to+a tree*	MAT climped to+a tree
13)	*and (.) the do:g was alzo trying (.) looking at the beez*	BEH the do:g was looking at the beez
14)	*den (.) he falled down*	MAT he falled down
15)	*and the beez war (.) following de do:g*	MAT the beez war following de do:g
16)	*den (.) 'cos the (.) 'cos the owl (.) was going to the boy's (.)head*	MAT the owl was going to the boy's head
17)	*he was trying to(.) hit*	MAT he was trying hit
18)	*and thenh (.) he was shouting again for the fro:g*	VERB he was shouting again
19)	*and denh (.) he went to the forest*	MAT he went to the forest
20)	*and den he found a (.) ah (.) peu (.) ra* 'deer'	REL he found a peura 'deer'

S: *mmm*

C:

21)	*and then (.)they we (.) den he climbed by accident on it*	MAT they climbed
22)	*because he was thinking that it was still the rock*	MENT he was thinking
23)	*'n+then (.) the peura was running against the do:g*	MAT the peura was running against the dog
24)	*denh (.) the peura dropst the boy(.) an' de do:g to (.)a lampi* 'pond'	MAT the peura dropst the boy an' de do:g
25)	*thenh (.) they (.) followed to their back*	MAT they followed to their back
26)	*and then (.) they were laughing for a while*	BEH they were laughing
27)	*den they were (.) then they saw a tree what was falled*	MENT they saw a tree REL what was falled [[was fallen]]
28)	*an' thenh (.) he was quiet*	REL he was quiet
29)	*he was saying that be quiet (.) because let's go (.) above that (.) tree (.) what was a(.) broken*	VERB he was saying REL be quiet MAT let's go REL what was broken
30)	*den(.) they climbed off*	MAT they climbed off
31)	*den they founded (.) the fro:gs*	REL they founded the fro:gs
32)	*and+den they founded (.) his family*	REL they founded his family

33) *the:n he took (.) his fro:g back (.) an' sayed (.) said bye bye*
MAT [he]3 took his fro:g back
VERB Ø3 said bye bye

C:

1) *Olipa kerran poika jolla oli sammakko*
REL olipa kerran poika
REL jolla oli sammakko
2) *hän ihasteli sitä (.) hänen vesikannussaan*
BEH hän ihasteli sitä
3) *silloin kun hän lähti nu(.) nukkumaan niin silloin s(.) sammakko lähti (.)pois+siittä vesikannusta*
MAT [hän]1 lähti BEH Ø1 "nukkui"
MAT sammakko lähti pois vesikannusta
4) *sitten eräänä päivänä kun poika heräsi niin silloin (.) sammakko oli karonnu*
BEH poika heräsi
REL sammakko oli karonnu
5) *sitten (.) hän pani nopeesti vaatteet päälle ja lähti etsimään*
MAT[hän]2 pani vaatteet päälle
MAT Ø2 lähti BEH Ø2 "etsi"
6) *hän huusi ikkunasta (.) sammakko*
VERB hän huusi sammakko
7) *ennen+kun (.) koira putosi alas*
MAT koira putosi alas
8) *sitten hän oli oikean vihainen (.) oikein vihainen*
REL hän oli vihainen
9) *sitten (.) hän huusi (.) metsässä*
VERB hän huusi
10) *hän lähti metsään päin*
MAT hän lähti metsään päin
11) *hän huusi sammakkoaan*
VERB [hän]3 huusi sammakkoaan
12) *mutta ei löytäny*
REL Ø3 ei löytäny
13) *sitten (.) hän näki pienen kolon*
MENT hän näki kolon
14) *hän kurkisti sieltä*
BEH hän kurkisti sieltä
15) *siellä oli joku hiiri taih myyrä*
REL siellä oli joku hiiri
16) *ja sitten (.) se purasi vähän hänen nenää*
MAT se purasi vähän hänen nenää
17) *sittenh (.) poika kiipesi p(.) puusta ja huusi sinne koloon (.) ko (.) hänen sammakkoaan*
MAT [se poika]4 kiipesi puusta
VERB Ø 4 huusi koloon
18) *s sitte koirakin (.) yritti kiivetä (.) mutta mehiläiset si (.) seurasivat häntä koska (.) hän tiputti (.) öö (.) hän tiputti mehiläispesän*
MAT koirakin yritti kiivetä
MAT mehiläiset seurasivat häntä
MAT hän tiputti mehiläispesän
19) *ja (.) sitten (.) hän kaatui puusta (.) koska mehiläiset seurasivat koiraa (.) ja sitten (.) ja yrittivät pistää*
MAT hän kaatui puusta
MAT [mehiläiset]5 seurasivat koiraa
MAT Ø5 yrittivät pistää
20) *silloin (.) hän (.) silloin (.) poika näki pöllön*
MENT hän näki pöllön
21) *ja se (.) pöllö yritti (.) läpyttää hä(.) hänen siipiään ja sittel+lyödä (.) hänen päätä niillä*
MAT [se pöllö yritti]6 läpyttää siipiään
MAT Ø6 lyödä hänen päätä
22) *mutta hän pani käden nopeasti päähän*
MAT hän pani käden nopeasti päähän
23) *ja sitten kun hän kiipesi kiveen (.) niin silloin pöllö oli jo puussa*
MAT hän kiipesi kiveen
REL pöllö oli jo puussa
24) *mutta (.) hän luuli että nuo sarvet näytti vähän+niin+kun puilta mutta ei ollu*
MENT hän luuli
REL nuo sarvet näytti
REL Ø ei ollu Ø

S: *mm hmm*

25) *n se oli peura joka (.) joka oli (.) kiven takana*	REL se oli peura REL joka oli kiven takana
26) *sitten (.) hän kiipesi vahingossa siihem puuhun mitä hän luuli mikä oli puu vaikka ei ollu*	MAT hän kiipesi MENT mitä hän luuli REL mikä oli puu REL Ø ei ollu Ø
27) *sitten hän kattoi oikein tarkasti ja mikä se oli*	BEH hän kattoi oikein tarkasti REL mikä se oli
28) *silloin hän vasta näki (.) se oli peura*	MENT hän näki REL se oli peura
29) *sitten hän juoksi aa(.) pois*	MAT hän juoksi pois
30) *silloin hän juoksi (.) ja tiputti pojan alas (.) ja koiran*	MAT [hän]7 juoksi MAT Ø7 tiputti pojan alas
31) *ne tippuivat lampeen*	MAT ne tippuivat lampeen
32) *ja sitten (.) kun he tippuivat (.) niin silloin vähän ensi sattui mutta sitte nauratti*	MAT he tippuivat MENT sattui MENT nauratti
33) *silloin he näkivät puun joka oli katkaistu (.) öö (.) sahalla*	MENT he näkivät puun REL joka oli katkaistu
34) *ja sitten (.) sitten (.) hän (.) ö (.) mietti jos he kiipesivät (.) sen yli*	MENT hän mietti MAT he kiipesivät sen yli
35) *sitten (.) hän sanoi hiljaa kiivetään sieltä*	VERB hän sanoi hiljaa MAT kiivetään sieltä
36) *ja (.) he (.) kiipesivät hipihiljaa*	MAT he kiipesivät
37) *ja sitten he näkivät sa(.) äiti ja isäsammakon*	MENT he näkivät äiti ja isäsammakon
38) *sitten he näkivät (.)pienet vauvasammakot*	MENT he näkivät vauvasammakot
39) *ja (.) sitten hän lähti kotiin (.) ja otti hänen oman sammakon mukaan*	MAT [hän]8 lähti kotiin MAT Ø8 otti hänen oman sammakon mukaan

Narrations 15–16/36

C:

1) *dat (.) the: (.) de (.) first there wa:s (.) a bo:y and dere was a dog*	REL first there wa:s a bo:y REL dere was a dog
2) *and de boy had in a (.) in a jar a frog*	REL a boy had in a jar a frog
3) *after dat it was night*	REL it was night
4) *the:n (.)de frog ascaped when de boy saw it he was he very sad*	BEH the frog ascaped MENT the boy saw it REL he was very sad
5) *an' de (.) do:g put his head in de ca:n where de frog was had been and his get+stuck*	MAT the dog put his head in de ca:n REL where the frog had been REL his Ø get stuck

6) *den the dog fell out the window and de (.) jar broke*	MAT the dog fell out the window REL de jar broke
7) *it was the boy's only jar an' de boy was very angry*	REL it was the boy's only jar REL the boy was very angry
8) *an' den (.) dey went to the forest where there was a beehive*	MAT dey went to the forest REL there was a beehive
9) *and de (.) de do:g was trying to climb de tree where there was a de beehive*	MAT the dog was trying to climb REL where there was de beehive
10) *a:n' de:n (.)de beehive dropped an' all the beez came after de dog*	MAT de beehive dropped MAT the beez came after de dog
11) *'n den (.)de boy was looking (--) in a hole on de tree*	BEH de boy was looking
12) *and (.) den dere came a bird out of it an' (.) starded going after de bo:y*	MAT dere came a bird out of it MAT starded going after the dog
13) *and I didn't look anymore*	-

S: *you can check if you want to it's ok*

C:

14) *and den de boy hit a rock (.) and went on top of it*	MAT [de boy]1 hit a rock MAT Ø1 went on top of it
15) *and (.) called for his do:g*	VERB Ø1 called for his dog
16) *an' den dere was (.) a moose who took him (.) the boy on his head*	REL dere was a moose MAT who took the boy on his head
17) *and den de (.) moose started running after the dog*	MAT de moose started running
18) *and den (.) he ran to a bank ov+a river*	MAT he ran
19) *and de (.) moose stopped and de boy and de dog (.) fell down in de river*	MAT the moose stopped MAT de boy and de dog fell down
20) *den (.)dey fell on their head in the front*	MAT dey fell on their head in the front
21) *and den dere was a log in de river*	REL dere was a log in the river
22) *dey climbed on it*	MAT dey climbed on it
23) *'n' den (.) behind it (.) they found de boy's frog*	REL they found de boy's frog
24) *'n' den dey (.) took the frog with them to the house*	MAT they took the frog with them
25) *an' de end*	-V

C:

1) *ensiksi (.)oli kerran(.) päivä ja silloin pojalla oli purkissa sammakko (.)hänen kotonaan*	REL oli kerran päivä REL pojalla oli purkissa sammakko
2) *koira katsoi sitä*	BEH koira katsoi sitä
3) *ja sitten (.) yöllä kun he nukkuivat (.) sammakko pakeni*	BEH he nukkuivat BEH sammakko pakeni
4) *ja aamulla kun (.) poika huomasi sen (.) hän oli surullinen ja hämmästynyt*	MENT poika huomasi sen REL hän oli surullinen ja hämmästynyt
5) *ja sitten (.) tota (.)no (.) poika puki päälleen kengät*	MAT poika puki päälleen kengät
6) *ja (.) sillä välin (.) koira työnsi päätään sen n(.) kh (.) kuppiin*	MAT koira työnsi päätään sen kuppiin
7) *ja sitten (.) häne pää juuttui sinne ja hän putosi+ulos+ikkunasta*	REL häne pää juuttui sinne
8) *ja (.) n (.) lasi meni rikki*	REL lasi meni rikki

9)	*ja poika oli vihanen koska se oli ainoa sen lasi*	REL poika oli vihanen REL se oli ainoa sen lasi
10)	*ja sitten (.) ne menivät metsään (.) jossa oli ampiaspesä*	MAT ne menivät metsään REL jossa oli ampiaispesä
11)	*ja sit (.) johon meni paljon ampiaisia*	MAT meni paljon ampiaisia
12)	*koira yritti kiivetä puuhun jossa ampiaspesä oli*	MAT koira yritti kiivetä puuhun REL jossa ampiaispesä oli
13)	*ja se heilui silloin*	MAT se heilui
14)	*ja (.) sitten se putosi*	MAT se putosi
15)	*ja kaikki ampiaiset tulivat ulos (.) ja alkoivat jahtaamaan koiraa*	MAT ampiaiset tulivat ulos MAT alkoivat jahtaamaan koiraa
16)	*ja sillä välin (.) poika katsoi koloon yhdessä toisessa puussa*	BEH poika katsoi koloon
17)	*ja siel+tuli lintu joka alkoi jahtaamaan häntä (.) ja poika törmäsi kiveen*	MAT tuli lintu MAT alkoi jahtaamaan häntä MAT poika törmäsi kiveen
18)	*hän meni kiven päälle*	MAT hän meni kiven päälle
19)	*ja sitten hän ju (.) juuttui hirven sarviin*	REL hän juuttui hirven sarviin
20)	*hirvi juoksi (.)rotkoa kohti (.)jonka alla oli joki*	MAT hirvi juoksi REL jonka alla oli joki
21)	*kun poika oli hänen päässään ja (.) koiraa takaa*	REL poika oli hänen päässään
22)	*ja sitten koira ja poika putosivat jokeen (.) pää edellä*	MAT koira ja poika putosivat jokeen
23)	*ja he näkivät puun joessa (.) ja katsoivat sen taakse*	MENT [he]1 näkivät puun joessa BEH Ø1 katsoivat sen taakse
24)	*ja sitten (.)sel (.)löysivät (.) pojan oman sammakon ja sen koko perheen*	REL Ø1 löysivät pojan oman sammakon
25)	*ja sitten he ottivat (.) poika otti sen sammakon joka oli hänen takaisin hänen kotiinsa*	MAT poika otti sen sammakon REL joka oli hänen
26)	*ja sitten (.) sem+pituinen se*	-V

Narrations 17–18/36

C:

1)	*I'm (.) I'm so borned*	REL I'm so borned [bored]
2)	*I (.) I want+to go outside*	MENT [I]1want MATØ1 "go" outside
3)	*and den (.) de fro:g came o(.) out of his (.) öömmm cup*	MAT the fro:g came out of his cup
4)	*and den he (.) he jump*	MAT he jump
5)	*and and de: (.) dog jump up (.) in the (.) up of the ee be:d*	MAT de dog jump up of the be:d
6)	*and den de boy (.) jump of the be:d*	MAT de boy jump of the be:d
7)	*and den de dog (.) öö get the ö(.) öö cup(.) in his hed*	REL de dog get the cup in his head
8)	*an'den de boy look +in the shoe*	BEH de boy look+in the shoe
9)	*an' then he put (.) looking+in (.) in de window*	BEH he looking+in de window
10)	*and then he (.) mmm (.) ööö s(.) s(.) say where is my fro:g where is my fro:g*	VERB he say REL where is my fro:g
11)	*an' then (.) the (.) the dog fall (.) an' he braked the cup*	MAT the dog fall MAT he braked the cup

12) *an' den de (.) boy jump(.) an' he have the shoes* — MAT the boy jump / REL he have the shoes
13) *and then (.) he (---) say where 're you fro:g where 're you frog* — VERB he say / REL where're you fro:g
14) *and den (.) he show he (.) his dog th show bumblebees* — BEH he show his dog th bumblebees
15) *an' den (.) the bumblebees (.) öö when the doog (.) say wuff wuff* — VERB the dog say wuff wuff
16) *den de (.) den de bumblebees get angry* — BEH the bumblebees get angry
17) *and den de de k (.) an' den de (.) öö the trees the bumblebees (.) öö de harm drop (.) down* — MAT the harm [[hive]] drop down
18) *an' den (.) den de boy is in de tree(.) look+in the hole* — REL de boy is in de tree / BEH Ø look+in the hole
19) *an' he (.) does come ov: (.)öö (.)ov: aa: a bird* — -
20) *and den that get angry (.) an' (.) try to get+the boy* — REL [that]1 get angry / REL Ø1 try to get+the boy
21) *an' then the boy get in+the (.) in to+a rock* — MAT the boy get in to+a rock
22) *an' then he (.) öö (.) s (.) said where 're you fro:g where 're you fro:g* — VERB he said / REL where are you fro:g
23) *and he said (.) where 're you do:g where 're you do:g* — VERB he said / REL where're you do:g
24) *and den (.) mmm (.)and an' den (.) öö what is dis a called* — -

S: *it's a deer*
C:
25) *deer*
S: *yeah*
C:
26) *an' dat de deer come(.) an' take the boy in his head* — MAT [de deer]2 come / MAT Ø2 take the boy in his head
27) *an' den he go* — MAT he go
28) *an' de boy: dropped* — MAT boy: dropped
29) *an' den he (.) go+in+de water an' plash* — MAT he go+in+de water
30) *he is in the water* — REL he is in the water

S: *hmm*
C:
31) *an then he come (.) in the tree* — MAT he come in the tree
32) *and him him look+in the tree* — BEH him look in the tree
33) *and he font (.) fro:gs* — REL he font [[found]] fro:gs
34) *an' he (.) öö (.) playing with the fro:gs* — BEH he playing with the fro:gs
35) *de: end* — -V

C:
1) *poika oli tylsistyny* — REL poika oli tylsistynyt
2) *se katteli sen sammakkoa* — BEH se katteli sen sammakkoa
3) *ja sitten se koiraki kattoi sammakkoa* — BEH sitten se koirakin kattoi sammakkoa
4) *sitten (.) sitten poika meni nukkuun* — MAT [poika]1 meni BEH Ø1 "nukku"

5) *ja sitte sammakko hyppäs ulos sen (.) ämpäristä*	MAT sammakko hyppäs ulos sen ämpäristä
6) *ja sitten (.) sitten se poika heräsi*	BEH [poika]2 heräsi
7) *ja 'itten näki että se sammakko olim (.) poissa*	MENT Ø2 näki
	REL sammakko olim poissa
8) *niin (.) että sitten se katto kenkään (.) ja kattoi ulos*	BEH se katto kenkään
9) *ja sen koir(.)ja sitte se koiralle jäi jäi seen koiraan j(.)se koira jätti sen (.) sem (.) pää (.) jäi kuppiin kiinni*	
	REL sem pää jäi kuppiin kiinni
10) *ja sitte poika katto ulos (.)ja huuteli (.) missä oot sammakko missä oot sammakko*	
	BEH [poika]3 katto ulos
	VERB Ø3 huuteli
	REL missä oot sammakko
11) *ja 'itten (.) sitten ne(.) sitten se (.) koira hyppäs ekana*	MAT koira hyppäs
12) *ja sitten se lasi meni rikki ja poika hyppäs seuraavana*	REL lasi meni rikki
	MAT poika hyppäs
13) *ja otti sen+koiran sylii*	MAT otti sen koiran syliin
14) *ja sitte se huusi (.) missä oot sammakko missä oot sammakko*	VERB se huusi
	REL missä oot sammakko
15) *hitten (.) koira tönäsi puuta*	MAT koira tönäsi puuta
16) *sitten ampiaspesä tippu alas*	MAT ampiaspesä tippu alas
17) *ja sitten poika oli jo kiipeemäsä puuhun*	MAT poika oli jo kiipeemäsä puuhun
18) *ja sitten (.) sieltä pu (.) puun puun+kolosta tipahti kai (.)nn (.) pöllö*	MAT puun kolosta tipahti pöllö
19) *ja sitten se koira juoksi jo pakoon ampiaisia*	MAT koira juoksi pakoon
20) *ja sitte poika kiipes (.) puuhun ja sitte ku se pöllö seuras sitä*	MAT poika kiipes puuhun
	MAT pöllö seuras sitä
21) *ja sitte se jäi (.) jäi odotteleen puuhun*	BEH se jäi odotteleen puuhun
22) *ja+hitten se näki hirven*	MENT se näki hirven
23) *ja sitte se hirvi kanto sitä*	MAT hirvi kanto sitä
24) *ja sitten sitten se poika tippu (.) ja splash*	MAT se poika tippu
25) *ja se oli siellä sen+koiran kaa märkänä*	REL se oli siellä sen koiran kaa märkänä
26) *ja sitte (.) sitten+se kiipes kantol kannolle*	MAT sitten se kiipes kannolle
27) *sitten+ne näki sielä sammakkopoikasia*	MENT [ne]4 näki siellä sammakkopoikasia
28) *ja leikki niiden kaa*	BEH Ø4 leikki niiden kaa
29) *ja loppu*	
	-V

Narrations 19–20/36

S:
are you thinking about how to start a story
yeah
you could start for example by (.) once upon a time there was
who is in the story

C:

1) *a boy* -

S:

yeah

an' you can just describe what's in the pictures

C:

2) *a frog* -

S: *yeah*

C:

3) *a dog* -

S: *yeah*

C:

4) *a bed* -

S:

a bed (.) yeah

so once upon a time there was a dog an' a frog an' a bed

C:

5) *an' a boy* -

S: *yeah (.) an' what happened*

C:

6) the *boy went to sleep* MAT[the boy]1 went BEH Ø1 "slept"

S: y*eah*

C:

7) *and then the frog (.)went out of the cup* MAT the frog went out of the cup

S: *oh ok*

C:

8) *and then the boy wa (.) woke up* BEH the boy woke up

S:

mmm

what happened next

C:

9) *an then (.) the dog put (.)his head in the cup* MAT the dog put his head in the cup

S: *oh*

C:

10) *the boy (.)found some shoes* REL the boy found shoes

S: *ahaa*

C:

11) *and they (.) then they looked outside* BEH they looked outside

S: *oh*

C:

12) *and then the dog fell* MAT the dog fell

S: *oh*

C:

13) *and then(.) um the cup broke* REL the cup broke

14) *and then (.) they were outside* REL they were outside

15) *then (.)the dog saw a (.) beehive*	MENT the dog saw a beehive
16) *and then the beehive (.) fell down*	MAT the beehive fell down
S: *it did ah*	
C:	
17) *and then the boy was in a tree*	REL the boy was in a tree
18) *ow (.) the owl came out of the tree*	MAT the owl came out of the tree
19) *and then (.) all the bees were following the do:g*	MAT the bees were following the do:g
S: *oh poor dog*	
C:	
20) *and then the (.) boy (.)found a big rock*	REL the boy found a big rock
21) *and then the owl (.)went (.)flew to a tree*	MAT the owl flew to a tree
22) *and then (.) there came (.) aa*	-
23) *then the dog and the boy*	-
24) *the dog ran and the boy was (.)on something*	MAT the dog ran REL the boy was on something
S: *mmm*	
C:	
25) *and they both fell (.) to water*	MAT they both fell
26) *and they (.) then they found a big (.) um tree*	REL they found a big tree
27) *and behind the tree there was fro frogs*	REL there was frogs
28) *and then all the f frogs but one um (.)was on the ground*	REL all the frogs but one was on the ground
29) *all ov+the others went um (.) on the tree*	MAT the others went on the tree
30) *and then the (.)bog and the boy went (.) um*	-
31) *the boy had one frog*	REL the boy had one frog
32) *an' then (.) and then it (.) they went home*	MAT they went home

---

C:

1) *olipa kerran poika ja koira ja sitte (.) myös aam (.) toi: sammakko*	REL olipa kerran poika ja koira
S: *mmm*	
C:	
2) *sitte ku se poika meni nukkumaa ja sitte (.) sammakko tuli sen purkista pois*	MAT [poika]1 meni BEH Ø 1 "nukku" MAT sammakko tuli sen purkista pois
3) *ja sitte se poika heräs aamulla ja se löys eh tota (.) sen purkin tyhjänä*	BEH se poika heräs aamulla REL se löys purkin tyhjänä
4) *ja hh (.) se löys kengä (.) sen kengät*	REL se löys sen kengät
5) *ja sitte(.) se koira laitto (.) sen naaman siihen purkkiin*	MAT se koira laitto sen naaman purkkiin
6) *ja sitte koira (.) se koira am putos*	MAT se koira putos
7) *ja sitten (.) aah (.) ja sitte (.) se poika pomppas ulos ikkunasta*	MAT se poika pomppas ulos ikkunasta
8) *ja sitteh (.) n ne oli ulkona*	REL ne oli ulkona
9) *ja sitte (.) se koira näki am (.) aah (.) ampiaispesän*	MENT se koira näki ampiaispesän
10) *ja sitte se ampiaispesä putos*	MAT se ampiaispesä putos

11) *ja se poika oli puu:ssa* — REL poika oli puussa
12) *ja sitte sem+puun sisältä tuli (.)am (.) pöllö ja (.) se poika kaatu* — MAT sem+puun sisältä tuli pöllö; MAT se poika kaatu
13) *ja sitte kaikki ampiaiset (.) lens tota se koiram+perää* — MAT kaikki ampiaiset lens koiran perään
14) *sitte se poika (.) näki ison kiven* — MENT poika näki kiven
15) *ja sitte (.) am (.) tuli pöllö (.) ja sen lens puuhu* — MAT tuli pöllö; MAT sen lens puuhu
16) *ja sitte (.) sitten se poika jäi tota hirven päähän* — REL se poika jäi hirven päähän
17) *ja sitte se koita juoksi (.) sitä karkuun* — MAT koira juoksi karkuun
18) *ja sitte ne molemmat putos (.) järveen* — MAT molemmat putos järveen

S: *mmm*
C:

19) *sitte siellä oli (.) toi (.) puu (.) kaatunu+puu* — REL siellä oli puu
20) *ja sitte sen takana oli sammakkoja* — REL sen takana oli sammakkoja
21) *ja sitte (.) se poika lähti yhen (.)pikku (.)sammakon+kaa* — MAT se poika lähti yhen sammakon+kaa
22) *ja mm yks on maassa ja muut oli (.) siinä puulla* — REL yks on maassa; REL muut oli siinä puulla

Narrations 21–22/36

S:
are you thinking about how to start a story
you can start for example (.) once upon a time there wa:s
a bo:y and (.) who else is in there
C:

1) *a dog*

S:
yeah
is there someone else as well
ok at least a dog and a boy
and what happens in the next picture
C:

2) *the frog comes (.) out of a jar* — MAT the frog comes out of a jar

S: *oh he does*
C:

3) *and when the boy and the dog (.) wakes up (.) the boy sees the frog isn't in the jar anymore* — BEH when the boy and the dog wakes up; MENT the boy sees; REL the frog isn't in the jar anymore

S: *oh*
C:

4) *and the boy looks in a shoe* — BEH the boy looks in a shoe

S: *mmm*

C:	
5) *and vhey look out of the window*	BEH vhey look out the window
S: *yeah*	
C:	
6) *and the (.) dog drops (.) out of the window (.) mmh*	MAT the dog drops out of the window
S: *what happens next*	
C:	
7) *the boy yells (.) um (.) fro:g a:re you here*	VERB the boy yells REL frog are you here
S: *oh*	
C:	
8) *an' he (.) looks in a hole*	BEH he looks in a hole
9) *an' vhen (.) a lot of bees come out of a bee's nest*	MAT a lot of bees come out
S: *oh*	
C:	
10) *and the boy climbs in a tree*	MAT the boy climbs in a tree
11) *and the boy drops down from the tree*	MAT the boy drops down from the tree
S: *ouch*	
C:	
12) *and the boy steps on a rock*	MAT the boy steps on a rock
S: *mmm*	
C:	
13) *and vhen he climbs on the rock*	MAT he climbs on the rock
S: *what's happening there* *are you wondering what that animal is called*	
C:	
14) *yes*	-
S: *yeah (.) I think it's a deer*	
C:	
15) *and the deer takes the boy away*	MAT the deer takes the boy away
S: *yeah*	
C:	
16) *and he drops the boy and the dog into (.) water*	MAT he drops the boy and the dog into water
17) *and the deer smiles and um the boy is hearing something*	BEH the deer smiles MENT the boy is hearing something
S: *yeah*	
C:	
18) *then he goes like shhh*	BEH he goes like shhh
S: *yeah*	
C:	
19) *and vhen vhey climb over tree trunk*	MAT [vhey]1 climb over tree trunk
20) *and (.) see two fro:gs*	MENT Ø1 see two fro:gs
21) *and vhen vhey see more frogs*	MENT vhey see more frogs

22) *an' vhen vhey take one frog* — MAT vhey take one frog
23) *an' (.) vhey say bye bye* — VERB vhey say bye bye
24) *an' vhen it's done* — REL vhen it's done

C:

1) *yhden kerran (.) oli poika ja koira (.) joilla oli sammakko* — REL yhden kerran oli poika ja koira
REL joilla oli sammakko

S: *mmm*

C:

2) *ja kun poika ja koira meni nukkumaan sammakko (.) öm öm katosi* — MAT [poika ja koira]1 meni BEH Ø 1 "nukku"
REL sammakko katosi

3) *ja sittek+kun poika ja koira heräsi (.) ne ihmetteli mihin sammakko oli hävinnyt* — BEH poika ja koira heräsi
BEH ne ihmetteli
REL sammakko oli hävinnyt

4) *ja poika kattoi kengästä* — BEH poika kattoi kengästä
5) *ja sitten ne avasi ikkunan* — MAT sitten ne avasi ikkunan
6) *ja koira tippui ulos ikkunasta* — MAT koira tippui ulos ikkunasta
7) *ja sitten poika sanoi (.) tuhma koi:la* — VERB poika sanoi tuhma koi:la
8) *ja sitten ne huusi (.)oletko täällä sammakko* — VERB ne huusi
REL oletko täällä sammakko

9) *j' sitten poika kattoi kolosta* — BEH poika kattoi kolosta
10) *ja sitten poika (.) kiipesi puuhun* — MAT poika kiipesi puuhun
11) *sitten poika tippui pois puusta* — MAT poika tippui pois puusta
12) *ja poika astui kivem+päälle* — MAT [poika]2 astui kivem+päälle
13) *ja sitten kiipesi kivem+päälle* — MAT Ø2 kiipesi kivem+päälle
14) *peura otti hänet (.) ja tiputti hänet veteen* — MAT[peura]3 otti hänet
MAT Ø3 tiputti hänet veteen

15) *ja poika kuuli jotain* — MENT poika kuuli jotain
16) *ja sitten hän meni hänen koiralle (.) shhh* — BEH hän meni hänen koiralle shhh
17) *ja ne (.) kiipesi puunrungon yl (.) yli* — MAT ne kiipesi puunrungon yli
18) *ne näki kaksi sammakkoa* — MENT ne näki kaksi sammakkoa
19) *ja sitten ne näki lisää sammakkoja* — MENT ne näki lisää sammakkoja
20) *ja ne otti (.) öm yhden sammakon ja sanoi (.) heippa* — MAT [ne]4 otti yhden sammakon
VERB Ø4 sanoi heippa

Narrations 23–24/36

C:

1) *I dunno how to start it*

S:

oh how to start it
do you wanna start for example like once upon a time there was
is that helpful

C:

2) *yes*

S: *yeah*

C:

3)	*once upon a time there was a fro:g*	REL there was a fro:g
4)	*an: (.) an: (.) there er (.) an: an: there was a child who had a dog an' a fro:g*	REL there was a child REL who had a dog an' a fro:g

S: *oh that's good*

C:

5)	*an: (.) vhe do:g (.) an' the child were going to sleep*	MAT [vhe dog an' the child]1 were going BEH Ø1 "slept"
6)	*then vhe frog slept in a (.) jar*	BEH vhe frog slept
7)	*when vhe (.) child and the (.) do:g were at sleep an' the fro:g (.) sneak out of the j ts ja jar*	BEH vhe child and the do:g were at sleep MAT the fro:g sneak out of the jar
8)	*an' when+ni' was morning an' the child and do:g (.) w waked up an' they saw that the jar was empty*	REL ni' was morning BEH the child and dog waked up MENT they saw REL the jar was empty
9)	*when vhe do:g looked (.) in: vhe: jar an' vhe (.)child in his boots*	BEH vhe do:g looked in vhe: jar
10)	*vhen vhey looked at the window and tried to call him*	BEH [vhey]2 looked in the window VERB Ø2 tried to call him
11)	*vhen vhe do:g fell from vhe window*	MAT vhe do:g fell from vhe window
12)	*and he had vhe (.) jar on his head that was stuck when he fell*	REL he had vhe jar on his head MAT he fell
13)	*and de jar broke*	REL de jar broke
14)	*vhen de child (.) came down (.) an' was a little angry:*	MAT [de child]3 came down REL Ø3 was a little angry:
15)	*vhen vhey tried to (.) shout for it*	VERB vhey tried to shout for it
16)	*but vhey coudn't find it*	REL vhey couldn't find it
17)	*vhen the do:g saw pih (.) ee beez*	MENT the dog saw beez
18)	*so he went to: a (.) tree vhat were (.) vhat w vhat had de beez: house*	MAT he went to: a tree REL vhat had de beez: house
19)	*an' vhe child (.) looked in a hole*	BEH vhe child looked in a hole
20)	*an' somefing smelled in it*	REL somefing smelled in it
21)	*so an' the fro:g wasn't vhere*	REL the fro:g wasn't vhere
22)	*an' the do:g looked at b(.) beez' house*	BEH the do:g looked at beez' house
23)	*and vhere was nothing in de beez' house*	REL vhere was nothing in de beez' house
24)	*vhen he tried to shake it*	MAT he tried to shake it
25)	*and vhen vhe beez' house dropped*	MAT vhe beez' house dropped
26)	*an' vhe child looked in (.) a hole in a tree*	BEH vhe child looked in a hole
27)	*an' (.) vhere came an (.) an' there was a owl*	REL there was a owl
28)	*an' vhen the beez tried to catch vhe do:g*	MAT the beez tried to catch vhe do:g
29)	*vhen: vhe child (.) mm (.) climbed on a rock*	MAT vhe child climbed on a rock

30) *and (.) he tried to shout for him but he was (.) holdin' a deer's (.) antlers*	VERB he tried to shout for him MAT he was holding a deer's antlers
31) *so a deer (.) put his head up*	MAT a deer put his head up
32) *an' vhe child was on top of his head*	REL vhe child was on top of his head
33) *vhen vhe deer (.) carried (.) vhe child (.) on to:: a (.) on to like a riverbank*	MAT vhe deer carried vhe child
34) *an' vhe do:g was in fron' ov a deer*	REL vhe do:g was in fron' ov a deer
35) *so both (.) so vhe deer an' vhe child dropped in: a p (.) in a puddle*	MAT vhe deer an' vhe child dropped in a puddle
S: *yeah*	
C:	
36) *vhen vhey (.) e vhen vhey dropped in da puddle*	-
37) *an' vhey heared a like a frog 's+sound*	MENT vhey heared like a frog's+sound
38) *vhen vhey looked behind vhe lo:g*	BEH vhey looked behind vhe lo:g
39) *an'(.) vhen vhey saw (.) two fro:gs two fro:gs (.) a mommy an' a daddy*	MENT vhen vhey saw two fro:gs
40) *an' vhen (.) lots of (.) baby frogs*	-V
41) *so a child an' fro:g went back home an' took one of the baby fro:gs ho with vhem*	MAT a child an' fro:g went back home MAT took one of the baby fro:gs with vhem
42) *vhe:e end*	-V

C:	
1) *olipa kerran (.) sammakko (.) ja lapsi ja koira*	REL olipa kerran sammakko ja lapsi ja koira
2) *ja sillä lapsella oli koira ja (.)sammakko*	REL lapsella oli koira ja sammakko
3) *ja ne oli kohta menossa nukkumaan*	MAT [ne]1 oli menossa BEH Ø1 ”<u>nukku</u>”
4) *ja oli ilta*	REL oli ilta
5) *sitten+ne meni nukkumaan*	MAT [ne]2 meni BEH Ø2 ”<u>nukku</u>”
6) *ja samma ja se sammakko hiippaili (.) pois sieltä purkista ulos talosta*	MAT sammakko hiippaili pois
7) *sitten (.) öm (.) lapsi ja koira heräs ja huomas että oli tyhjä (.) purkki*	BEH[lapsi ja koira]3 heräs MENT Ø3 huomas REL oli tyhjä purkki
S: *mm*	
C:	
8) *sitten lapsi (.) se lapsi kattoi sen saappaasta ja koira purkista*	BEH se lapsi kattoi sen saappaasta
9) *sitten ne meni huutaa ikkunasta*	MAT [ne]4 meni VERB Ø4 ”<u>huusi</u>” ikkunasta
10) *ja sitte se koira tippu pois siitä ikkunasta ja hajotti sen purkin*	MAT [koira]5 tippu pois MAT Ø5 hajotti sen purkin
11) *ja sitte lapsikin tuli alas (.) ja oli vähä (.) oli vähän vihainen sille koiralle*	MAT [lapsikin]6 tuli alas REL Ø6 oli vähän vihainen
12) *sitten+ne huuteli sitä*	VERB ne huuteli sitä
13) *ja koira haistoi ampiaisii ja*	BEH koira haistoi ampiaisii
14) *sitte koira meni kattoo ampiaisem+pesästä*	MAT [koira]7 meni BEH Ø7 “<u>katto</u>”
15) *ja se heilutti sitä puuta*	MAT se heilutti sitä puuta
16) *ja sitte lapsi kattoi (.)kolosta (.) ja sieltä löytyi (.) joku eläin mikä ei ollu sammakko*	BEH lapsi kattoi kolosta REL sieltä löytyi joku eläin REL mikä ei ollu sammakko
17) *sitten (.) ampiaisien pesä tippui*	MAT ampiaisen pesä tippui

18)	*ja koi (.) ja sit (.) ja samalla (.) lapsi ihmetteli*	MENT lapsi ihmetteli
19)	*lapsi kattoi (.) puussa olevaar+reikää (.) että oliko siellä*	BEH lapsi kattoi puussa olevaar+reikää REL oliko siellä Ø
20)	*niin siellä oli pöllö*	REL siellä oli pöllö
21)	*ja samalla (.) ampiaiset (.) oli jahtaamassa (.) koiraa*	MAT ampiaiset oli jahtaamassa koiraa
22)	*sitten (.) lapsi meni kattoo (.) kivem+päältä ja huusi*	MAT [lapsi]8 meni BEH Ø8 “katto” VERB Ø8 huusi
23)	*samalla se (.) piti (.) mm poron (.) sarvista*	MAT se piti poron sarvista
24)	*ja sitte se poro (.) tunki pään ylös*	MAT poro tunki pään ylös
25)	*ja se lähti viemään sitä: (.) lätäkköön*	MAT [se]9 lähti MAT Ø9 ”vei”
26)	*sit se tiputtu koiran ja lapsen sinne*	MAT se tiputti
27)	*sitte ne tippu sinne*	MAT ne tippu sinne
28)	*samalla (.) ne kuuli (.) sammakkojen äänee (.) öm puun takaa mikä oli kaatunu*	MENT ne kuuli sammakkojen äänee MAT mikä oli kaatunu
29)	*sitte ne meni kattoo ja sieltä löyty (.) yks äiti ja isä sammakko (.) ja sitte monta pientä sammakkoo*	MAT [ne]8 meni BEH Ø8 ”katto” REL sieltä löyty yks äiti ja isä sammakko
30)	*sitten ne lähti kotiin ja ne otti yhden niistä mikä oli niitten oma (.) niin ne otti sen mukaan*	MAT ne lähti kotiin MAT ne otti yhden niistä REL mikä oli niitten oma MAT ne otti sen mukaan
31)	*loppu*	-V

Narrations 25–26/36

C:

1)	*once upon a time (.) there wa:z a bo:y*	REL there was a boy

S: *yeah*

C:

2)	*with a do:g*	-V
3)	*and de boy ha (.) had a fro:g*	REL the boy had a fro:g

S: *good*

C:

4)	*a:nd de do:g always looked at it*	BEH de do:g looked at it
5)	*a:nd (.) de next day (.) de frog went out*	MAT the frog went out
6)	*and de dog went after+rit*	MAT de dog went after+rit
7)	*an:d catch the fro:g*	MAT catch the fro:g
8)	*an:d de:n (.) de:h (.) do:g s went to deh ee (.) to de boy dat de fro:g is out of de can*	MAT de:h do:g went to de boy REL de fro:g is out of the can
9)	*an:d den de dog found it*	REL de frog found it
10)	*an:d den: (.) de: frog was in a hole*	REL de: frog was in a hole
11)	*an:d (.) there were some bees very close*	REL there were some bees Tässä
12)	*an:d (.) den dey ran away*	MAT dey ran away

13) *an:' (.) one bird came* — MAT [one bird]1 came
14) *an' hided* — MAT Ø1 hided
15) *an' then it came out* — MAT it came out
16) *an' den a deer took de boy to de (.) his home* — MAT a deer took de boy to his home
17) *but den he (.) he pushed dem out of de hi:ll* — MAT he pushed dem out of de hi:ll

S: *mmm*
C:

18) *an+dey fell in+de water* — MAT dey fell in+de water
19) *an:d den de boy went home* — MAT de boy went home
20) *and den (.) de fro:g w was already with a friend (.) in deh forest* — REL de fro:g was with a friend
21) *an+den dere was (.) was many fro:gs* — REL dere was many fro:gs
22) *and dat's d+end* — REL dat's d+end

C:

1) *olipa kerran poika (.) millä oli yks (.) öö koira* — REL olipa kerran poika; REL millä oli yks koira
2) *ja: yks vielä toi: rapu* — -V

S: *mm hmm*
C:

3) *ja: sitte se rapu: (.) halus ottaa sen+koiran kiinni* — MENT [se rapu]1 halus MAT Ø1 "otti" sen koiran kiinni
4) *ja sitten: (.) se koira meni (.) sitten pakoon* — MAT se koira meni pakoon
5) *ja se hyppäs poikam+päälle* — MAT se hyppäs poikam+päälle
6) *ja sitten (.) joku oli piilossa (.) jossakin kolossa* — REL joku oli piilossa
7) *ja sitte se kyppäs ulos* — MAT se kyppäs [[hyppäsi]] ulos

S: *mmm*
C:

8) *ja se oli sellanen (.) ee emmä+tiedä mikä se on* — -

S: *sä voit mennä eteenpäin jos haluat*
C:

9) *ja sitten mehiläisiä tuli* — MAT mehiläisiä tuli
10) *ja sittej+joku eläin tuli pelastaan* — MAT [joku eläin]2 tuli BEH Ø2 "pelasti"
11) *ja sitten:h (.) tuli karhu* — MAT tuli karhu
12) *ja sitten (.) se työnsi n niitä vetee* — MAT se työnsi niitä vetee
13) *ja sitte:n ne meni pois+siittä vedestä:* — MAT ne meni pois
14) *ja sitten (.) sielä oli paljon sammakoita* — REL sielä oli paljon sammakoita
15) *ja: sittenh (.) se koira ja se poika leikki niiden kaa* — BEH se koira ja se poika leikki niiden kaa
16) *ja se+on se loppu* — REL se+on se loppu

Narrations 27–28/36

C:		
1)	*the boy was sleeping*	BEH the boy was sleeping
S: *yeah*		
C:		
2)	*an' then (.) the frong jumped out of the bucket*	MAT the frog jumped out of the bucket
3)	*and de (.) an' the boy (.) when he waked up at the morning he didn't saw (.) the w (.) the frog at the bucket*	BEH he waked up MENT he didn't saw the frog
S: *mmhmm*		
C:		
4)	*so he looks (.) from the shoe (.) there was no frog*	BEH he looks from the shoe REL there was no frog
5)	*and then he (.) and doggy (.) an' dog went inside the (.) frog+bowl*	MAT dog went inside
6)	*and then (.) he(.) his head got stucked in+there*	REL his head got stuck
7)	*and the boy ee (.) called the frog*	VERB the boy called the frog
8)	*and den (.) the dog (.) the dog did (--) into the (--)*	-
9)	*but then (.) the bowl did broke and the boy was angry (.) to dog*	REL the bowl did broke REL the boy was angry
10)	*and den they went to the forest but (.) they (.) the boy called the frog but (.) he didn't (.) see the frog so*	MAT they went to the forest VERB the boy called the frog
11)	*then he called it from the hole there came*	VERB the boy called it
12)	*there came an animal from the hole*	MAT there came an animal
13)	*den de dog (.) wanted to get some honey but*	MENT [the dog]1 wanted REL Ø1 "<u>got</u>" honey
14)	*but the dog w (.) the boy was concentrating (.) with (.) the boy was concentrating to find the frog*	MENT[the boy]2 was concentrating REL Ø2 "<u>finding</u>"
15)	*the boy looked from the hole (.) from the tree+hole (.) but there was no frog in dere*	BEH the boy looked from the hole REL there was no frog in dere
16)	*an' agg accidentally dog ee (.) joped (.) jropt de(.) honey de (.) h beehive*	MAT the dog jropt [[dropped]] de beehive
17)	*an' den de bee (.) followed him (.) then all the bees followed him*	MAT all the bees followed him
18)	*thenh (.) the boy fell down and the (.) owl came too*	MAT the boy fell down MAT the owl came too
19)	*then the boy walled*	MAT the boy walled [[fell]]
20)	*and the owl came*	MAT the owl came
21)	*then the (.) boy was so sad because he didn't find the frog*	REL the boy was sad REL he didn't find the frog
22)	*so he (.) he jumped into a reindeer*	MAT he jumped into a reindeer
23)	*and den the reindeer did go (--) to jump over the hill*	-
24)	*and den the boy was falling down to the (.) pond (.) to the big pond*	MAT the boy was falling down
25)	*but the reindeer did stop (--)*	MAT the reindeer did stop
26)	*and then splash*	-V
27)	*they were find (.) wasn't so deep*	REL they were find [[fine]]

REL Ø wasn't so deep

28) *de boy said to dog shhh* — VERB de boy said to dog
29) *and den (.) they was looking through the tree* — BEH they was looking through the tree
30) *then he found (.) frog (.) baby frogs and mommy an' daddy frog* — REL he found baby frogs
31) *and they said bye bye* — VERB they said bye bye
32) *de boy said bye bye to the family frogs* — VERB de boy said bye bye to the family frogs
33) *the: end* — -V

C:

1) *kum+poika oli nukkumassa (.) illalla niin (.) se sammakko hyppäsi (.) kupistaan* — BEH poika oli nukkumassa; MAT sammakko hyppäsi
2) *niin sitten eräänä päivänä (.) kun (.) poika heräsi (.) ei siellä ollu toi (.) ei ollu (.) sammakkoo kupissa* — BEH poika heräsi; REL ei ollu sammakko kupissa
3) *niin (.) se kattoi kenkästä ei ollu (.) sammakkoo ei ollu* — BEH se kattoi kenkästä; REL sammakkoo ei ollu
4) *ja sitten (.) sitten se katto (.) sitten koira meni ää pulloon sitten (.) se sen pää jäi pulloon* — BEH sitten se katto; MAT koira meni pulloon; REL sen pää jäi pulloon
5) *sitten poikah kysyi että m (.) sitten nn* — -
6) *sitten koira tippui ja lasi meni rikki* — MAT koira tippui; REL lasi meni rikki
7) *niin (.) poika oli suuttuva koiralle* — REL poika oli suuttuva [[vihainen]] koiralle
8) *niin ne meni metsään ja metsään sitten+ne ei löytänyt* — MAT ne meni metsään; REL ne ei löytäny
9) *niin koira näki noi* — BEH koira näki noi
10) *niin (.) se poika (.) se poika (.) toi (.) teki reikän lattialle ja ei ollu mikään* — MAT se poika teki reikän lattialle
11) *tuli eläin sieltä* — MAT tuli eläin sieltä
12) *niin koira näki (.) ampiaisenpesän* — MENT koira näki ampiaisenpesän
13) *sitten se halusi hunajaa niin (.) vahinkossa se (.) vanhinkossa se tiputti he mehiläinen (.) koti (.) mehiläinen (.) mehiläinenkoti* — MENT se halusi hunajaa; MAT se tiputti mehiläinenkoti

S: *mmm*

C:

14) *niin (.) poika meni leikiin sitten se (.) ei siellä ollu mikään sammakkoa* — MAT [poika]1 meni BEH Ø1 " <u>leikki</u>"
15) *niin siitä tuli pöllö niin se pöllö pelästyi ja poika* — MAT siitä tuli pöllö; BEH pöllö pelästyi
16) *ja ampiaiset meni koiran perään* — MAT ampiaiset meni koiran perään
17) *ja pöllö tuli perään poika (.) sitte se lopetti* — MAT pöllö tuli perään; MAT sitte se lopetti
18) *niin (.) siellä oli (.) mikä se oli* — -
19) *hirvi* — -

S: *joo*

C:

20) *siellä oli hirvi*	REL siellä oli hirvi
21) *ja se kaatui päälle*	MAT se kaatui päälle
22) *sitten hirvi meni (.) eteenpäin*	MAT hirvi meni eteenpäin
23) *ja siellä oli (.) reikä*	REL siellä oli reikä
24) *niin se poika tippui (.) sinne(.) veteen*	MAT poika tippui sinne veteen
25) *sit (.) sitten e (.) ne oli (.) ne oli (.) kunnossa*	REL ne oli kunnossa
26) *niin ne (--)(.) niin koira sano (.) poika sanoi koiralle että (.) hiljaa (.) tuolla on sammakoita*	VERB poika sano koiralle että hiljaa REL tuolla on sammakoita
27) *sitten ne löysi (.) ne sammakot*	REL ne löysi
28) *sitten näi äiti ja isä*	-
29) *tuolla oli vauvat*	REL tuolla oli vauvat
30) *niin sitten ne otti sen poikasammakon ja lähti kotiin*	MAT [ne]2 otti poikasammakon MAT Ø2 lähti kotiin
31) *loppu*	-V

Narrations 29–30/36

C:	
1) *that the boy (.) the do:g looked at the boy*	BEH [the dog]1 looked at the boy
2) *an' then*	-V
S: *hyvä (.) you're doing good*	
C:	
3) *looked at the frog*	BEH Ø1 looked at the frog
4) *an' then (.) they:*	-
5) *they were sleeping*	BEH they were sleeping
6) *and the frog was gone*	REL the frog was gone
S: *yeah*	
7) *the boy put his (.) clothes on*	MAT the boy put his clothes on
8) *and the do:g looked(.) in (.)th (.)the (.) glass*	BEH the dog looked in the glass
9) *an' then the boy shouted (.) frog where are you (.) frog where are you*	VERB the boy shouted REL frog where are you
10) *the dog was (.) in the (.) window*	REL the dog was in the window
11) *the dog (.) dropped (.) accidentally from the window*	MAT the dog dropped from the window
12) *the boy looked down*	BEH the boy looked down
13) *the boy was really angry for the do:g*	REL the boy was really angry
14) *he shouted (.) fro:g (.) ou fro:g (.) where are you frog*	VERB he shouted REL where are you frog
15) *(---)*	-
16) *the dog (.) wuffed (.) for+deh (.) bees*	VERB the dog wuffed for+deh bees
S: *mm hmm*	
C:	
17) *and he (.) and the boy said that is smelly (.) dog (.) don't do that dog*	VERB the boy said

REL that is smelly
MAT don't do that

S: *hmm hmmm*
C:

18) *he accidentally dropped this ph(.) from the treetops* MAT he dropped this from the treetops
19) *an' then (.) the boy looked into this (.) this (.) hole (.) in the ground*
BEH the boy looked into this hole
20) *an' (.) there were the owel and the bees (.) an' that the bees were attacking the do:g*
REL there were the owel and the bees
MAT the bees were attacking the do:g
21) *so the owl (.) waked up and the boy fell down from the tree* BEH the owl waked up
MAT the boy fell down from the tree
22) *and the dog was running (.) 'way from those bees* MAT the dog was running 'way

S: *ahaa*
C:

23) *the owl flew into his home (.) into the tree* MAT the owl flew into his home
24) *the boy was (.) really (.) like ee distracting his+self* -

S: *the boy was (.) pardon what*
C:

25) *the boy was (.) like (.) helping his+self* BEH the boy was helping his+self

S: *oh yea*
C:

26) *so I think* -
27) *so the boy climbed the rock* MAT the boy climbed the rock
28) *an' the dog was (.) not alright* REL the dog was not alright
29) *so that the boy climbed (.) the biggest rock* MAT so that the boy climbed the biggest rock
30) *an' he touched (--) the horn (.) (--)(.) sticks* -
31) *they weren't sticks (.) they were* REL they weren't sticks
32) *the dog was behind the big rock* REL the dog was behind the big rock
33) *and that the (---) that bad dog* -
34) *the owl was sleeping* BEH the owl was sleeping

S: *mm hmm*
C:

35) *then the boy got into something (.) was moving in his (.) on hi[-]*
REL the boy got into something
36) *the stick wasn't a stick it was something else (---)* REL the stick wasn't a stick
REL it was something else
37) *and the dog wuffed (.) for+dat* VERB the dog wuffed for that
38) *an' the boy was (--)* -
39) *mmm mm* -
40) *boy and do:g fell down (.) in with a big splash* MAT boy and dog fell down
41) *the boy and the (.) they splashed into the water* MAT they splashed into the water
42) *and (.) the boy said I can hear something* VERB the boy said
MENT I can hear something
43) *the dog heared something as well* MENT the dog heared something as well

S: *mmhmm*
C:

44)	*so be quiet dog says the boy*	REL be quiet VERB says the boy
45)	*the dog was silent*	REL the dog was silent
46)	*now (.) the: (.) the boy (.) was looking (.) o (.) on the oder+side (.) and the dog as well*	BEH the boy was looking on the oder+side
47)	*and in de+oder side (.) there were two frogs*	REL there were two frogs
48)	*an' (.) then (.) hmm (.) they were (.) happy*	REL they were happy
49)	*and (.) they got baby frogs*	REL they got baby frogs
50)	*and then (.)c can you see those dog those are babyfrogs*	MENT can you see those REL those are babyfrogs
51)	*I think so that frog was there*	MENT I think so REL frog was there
52)	*(ohou) I found you frog*	REL I found you
53)	*then I bring it back*	MAT I bring it back

C:

1)	*missä sä oot (.) sammakko*	REL missä sä oot sammakko

S: *mmm*
C:

2)	*missä sä oot sammakko*	-
3)	*minä ja (.) koirani katottiin (.) mmm (.) ööö sammakkoa*	BEH mina ja koirani katottiin sammakkoa
4)	*se (.) hymyili*	BEH se hymyili
5)	*me mentiin nukkumaan ja (.) ja (.) ööh (.) kilpikonna (.) tuli (.) ulos (.) sieltä (.) m:issä olikaan*	MAT [me]1 mentiin BEH Ø1 ”<u>nukuttiin</u>” MAT kilpikonna tuli ulos sieltä

S: *mmm*
C:

6)	*niin (.) m:e (.) sitten kun oli (.) öö*	-
7)	*herätyskello soi (.) ja minä heräsin (.) ja siellä ei ollut sammakkoo*	MAT herätyskello soi BEH minä heräsin REL siellä ei ollut sammakkoo
8)	*kukaan ei ollut siellä*	REL kukaan ei ollut siellä
9)	*niin (.) minä eh ja ja koirani oltiin ihmettelemäs*	BEH minä ja koirani oltiin ihmettelemäs
10)	*vaihdoin vaatteeni (.) ja (.) minä vaihdoin vaatteeni*	MAT vaihdoin vaatteeni
11)	*koira vaan (.) oli iloinen tossa kupissa*	REL koira oli iloinen
12)	*ja minä nousin ja otin (.) vaatteet päälle*	MAT [minä]2 nousin MAT Ø2 otin vaatteet päälle
13)	*koira oli ikkunalaudalla ja minä huutelin*	REL koira oli ikkunalaudalla VERB minä huutelin
14)	*koira putosi ja minä katoin alas*	MAT koira putosi BEH minä katoin alas

15) *hän rikkoih (.) kupin*	MAT hän rikkoih kupin
16) *ja se oli (.) tuhannena säpäleinä*	REL se oli tuhannena säpäleinä
17) *ja sitten (.) minä nyrpistin (.) mm (.) öö koiralleni*	BEH minä nyrpistin koiralleni
18) *minä huusin (.) ja öö (.) ja koira oli ihmettynyt että (.) ampiaiset oli lähellä koiraa*	VERB minä huusin REL koira oli ihmettynyt REL ampiaiset oli lähellä koiraa
19) *minä katoin kolosta (.) jah koira yritti ottaa ampiaisia kiinni*	BEH minä katoin kolosta MAT koira yritti ottaa ampiaisia kiinni
20) *kolossa oli sellainen pikku (.) m:yyrä ja sitten*	REL kolossa oli m:yyrä
21) *sitte siellä (.) sitten koira haisi niin pahalle että (.) minä sanoin (.) haise (.) hyi sää haiset*	REL koira haisi pahalle VERB minä sanoin REL sää haiset
22) *ja: ampiaiset (.) minä (.) minun koirani putosi (.) pudotti (.) ampiaisten pesän ja*	MAT koirani tiputti ampiaisen pesän
23) *ja sitten kaikki ampiaiset hyökkäsivät (.) koiraan*	MAT kaikki ampiaiset hyökkäsivät koiraan
24) *minä katsoin kolosta*	BEH minä katsoin kolosta
25) *silloin kun ampiaiset meni (.) suoraan (.) koiraan*	MAT ampiaiset meni koiraan
26) *sitten (.) sittenh (.) pöllö tuli ulos kolosta (.) ja minä putosin*	MAT pöllö tuli ulos kolosta MAT minä putosin
27) *pöllö meni takasin puuhun*	MAT pöllö meni takasin puuhun
28) *ja (.) ja minäh (.) kiipesin (.) öö (.) isoimman kiven*	MAT minäh kiipesin
29) *minä koskin noihin ja pöllö oli ihmettynyt*	MAT minä koskin noihin REL pöllö oli ihmettynyt
30) *koira ei ollut okei*	REL koira ei ollut okei
31) *sitten jotain liikkui (.) ja (.) jotain*	MAT jotain liikkui
32) *sitten pöllö alkoi nukahtamaan*	BEH pöllö alkoi nukahtamaan
33) *ja koira jäi kiinne kiinni*	REL koira jäi kiinni
34) *jotain (.) jotain (.) jotain pitkää (.) liikkui sitten minäh*	MAT jotain pitkää liikkui
35) *sitten (.) öö (.) että (.) että (.) m:inut vietiin lammikolle*	MAT minut vietiin lammikolle
36) *koirakin (.) myrähteli ja puhu (.) öö (.) haukku*	VERB [koirakin]3 myrähteli VERB Ø3 haukku
37) *(ju:ttu) putosi (.) put (.) pudotti meidät ja (.) sielä oli iso splash*	MAT juttu pudotti meidät REL siellä oli iso splash
38) *minä putosin ja koira putosi minun päälleni*	MAT minä putosin MAT koira putosi päälleni
39) *nooh (.) kuuletko tota kuoro (.) öö (.) koira*	MENT kuuletko tota koira
40) *niin minä katoin toiselle puolelle*	BEH minä katoin toiselle puolelle
41) *ja shhh (.) ja sanoin koiralle*	VERB sanoin koiralle
42) *siellä oli kaksi (.) öö (.) niinku (.) kilpikonnaa:*	REL siellä oli kaksi *1
43) *eiku en m'nä muista*	-
44) *mikä se oli*	

S: *sam:*
C:

45) *sammakkoa* *1 sammakkoa

S: *nii+just*

C:

46) *niin (.) nyt niillä oli (.) vauvasammakkoja* REL niillä oli vauvasammakkoja
47) *ja sitten näätkö tuota* MENT näätkö tuota
48) *ne on hieno* REL ne on hieno
49) *ja niin ne on niistä puuttuu vielä yksi sammakko* REL niistä puuttuu yksi
50) *se: sammakko löytyi* REL se: sammakko löytyi
51) *loppu* -V

Narrations 31–32/36

C:

1) *once upon a time there was (.) a little boy* REL once upon a time there was a little boy
2) *but I don't know his name* -
3) *andh (.) he lived with a (.) do:g an' a fro:g* BEH he lived with a do:g an' a fro:g

S: *mmm*

C:

4) *an when the boy was sleeping and the do:g (.) the frog jumped out of the*
BEH when the boy was sleeping
MAT the frog jumped out of the *1
5) *what was it (.) ee(.) I don't even know* -

S: *are thinking about what that is*

C:

6) *yeah* -

S: *yeah I think it's a jar*

C:

7) *yeah a jar* *1 jar
8) *when the boy and the dog woke up (.) they didn't see the frog anywhere*
BEH the boy and the dog woke up
MENT they didn't see the frog anywhere
9) *eh (.) they went searching for it (.) under the boot* MAT [they]1 went BEH Ø 1 "<u>searched</u>" for it
10) *and the do:g wats (.)what the* -
11) *was there other pages* -
12) *nope* -
13) *the boy searched for him (.) under a boot* BEH the boy searched for him under a boot
14) *and (.) the do:g searched for him (.) ooh* BEH the dog searched for him

S: *you're doing good*

C:

15) *eh (.) em (.) what was this (.) jar* -

S: *yes*

C:

16) *an' den they searched for it (.) outside* BEH they searched for it outside
17) *and then (.) the dog falled down out of (.) the window* MAT the dog falled down

18) *andh (.) then (.) eh (.)the bo:y went out of the window*	MAT the bo:y went out of the window
19) *this falled (.) and this went*	-
S: *hmm*	
C:	
20) *and+den the do:g has (.) what was it(.)*	-
21) *lit (.) him (.) on a cheek*	MAT lit [[licked]] him on a cheek
S: *mm hmm*	
C:	
22) *and they searched him for (.) in a tree*	BEH they searched him in a tree
S: *mm hmm*	
C:	
23) *an deh (.) dog barked (.) the bees out of the (.) hi:ve*	VERB the dog barked the bees out of the hi:ve
24) *and the bees were angry of course (.) they (.) are (.) always (.) angry*	REL the bees were angry
25) *and deh boy (.) looks him under ground (.) but there was*	BEH the boy looks him under ground REL there was *2
26) *what was the: name*	-
27) *I think* -	
S: *what does it look like*	
C:	
28) *it looks like a haisunäätä* 'skunk'	*2 a haisunäätä 'skunk'
S: *might be*	
C:	
29) *yeah (.) because I see this holding hands on here*	-
S: *hmm*	
30) *and the beehive falled (.) and the bees were really angry at the dog*	MAT the beehive falled REL the bees were really angry at the dog
31) *and the boy searched him (.) well actually the dog searches him (.) in here*	BEH the dog searches him in here
32) *but the boy searches him (.) in deh (.) in deh (.) trees*	BEH the boy searches him in deh trees
33) *the do:g (.) ran away from deh bees*	MAT the dog run away from the bees
34) *and den (.) de boy falled down (.) under owel*	MAT the boy falled down
S: *mm hmm*	
C:	
35) *and (.)de boy (.) climbed up (.) here*	MAT the [boy]2 climbed up
36) *and then tryeded to search for him (.) or save from him*	BEH Ø2 tryeded to search for him or BEH save from him
37) *when he goes on top (.) deh bushes*	MAT when he goes on top deh bushes
38) *de deer (.) comes up and (.) jus' carries him an'*	MAT the [deer]3 comes up MAT Ø3 carries him JÄIN TÄHÄ
39) *jus' like (.) throws him (.) dere*	MAT Ø3 throws him dere
40) *an' denh (.) he throws (.) a deer throws dem in deh wa (.) on deh water*	MAT a deer throws dem in deh water
41) *he splashed the dog (.) and (.)deh (.) dog and then:*	MAT he splashed the dog
42) *I dunno what happened dere*	-

43) *an' denh(.) the boy listens to him* BEH the boy listens to him

S: *mmm*

C:

44) *if he says anything* VERB if he says anything

S: *yeah that's good*

C:

45) *an' denh (.) when they look behind (.) de lo:g* BEH they look behind de lo:g

46) *dey see deh fro:g* MENT dey see deh fro:g

S: *hmm*

C:

47) *(---)* -

48) *and they waved good bye for the fro:g (.) family* BEH they waved good bye for the fro:g family

49) *de end* -V

C:

1) *ööö (.) I dunno what that's in finnish that once upon a time* -

2) *I'm not very good at finnish* -

S: *ei se haittaa (.) sä voit alottaa ihan miten sä haluut*

C:

3) *ääh (.) mhhm (.) I can't forgot (.) can't spell it in finnish* -

S: *voi alottaa vaikka (.) olipa kerran*

C:

4) *olipa kerran (.) poika (.) kukah (.) kuka asu koiran (.) ja sammakon kaan (.) sen talos*
REL olipa kerran poika
BEH kuka asu koiran ja sammakon kaan sen talos

S: *mmm*

C:

5) *mut kun ne(.) oli nukkumassaan (.) se sammakko hyppäs pois (.) pullostah*
BEH ne oli nukkumassaan
MAT sammakko hyppäsi pois

6) *ja sit kun+ne heräs* BEH ne heräs

7) *niin sitten ne ei nähny enää sammakkoa* MENT ne ei nähny sammakkoa

8) *poika etsi sitä:h (.) saappaan alta (.) ja sitten koira etsi sitä pullosta*
BEH poika etsi sitä saappaan alta
BEH koira etsi sitä pullosta

9) *mutta (.) sit niit (.) sit ne:h (.)etsi sitä (.) ulkoo* BEH ne etsi sitä ulkoo

10) *ja sitten poika huuti (.) tule tänne* VERB poika huuti tule tänne

11) *jah (.) sitten toi:ih (.) toi koira putos* MAT toi koira putos

12) *ja sitten tota:h (.) koir koira nielas sitä pokseen poskeen* MAT koira nielas [[nuolas]] sitä poskeen

S: *mm hmm*

C:

13) *ja sit ne katto sitä: (.) tuota (.) puusta* BEH sit ne katto sitä: puusta

14) *ja sitte poika katto siltä: (.)maan sisältä* BEH poika katto maan sisältä

15) *ja sitten koira etti sitä:h (.) mehiläisien pesästä* BEH koira etti sitä:h

16) *ja sittenh (.) mehiläiset oli vähän (.) vähäh (.) ilkeitä ja sitten ne tuli tosi ilkeeks (.) kunh*
REL mehiläiset oli vähän ilkeitä
REL ne tuli tosi ilkeeks
17) *ja sitten (.) poika haisti haisunäädän* MENT poika haisti haisunäädän
18) *ja se laitti kädet (.) sen+nenää* MAT se laitti kädet sen+nenää
19) *mun+ol (.)mun on huo (.) I'm no (.) little good at finnish* -

S: *hyvin menee*

C:

20) *ja sitten (.) ehh (.) mehiläisien (.) mehiläisien: (.) pesä tippu ja ne oli ilk (.) tosi tosi tosi ilkeitä koiralle*
MAT mehiläisien pesä tippu
REL ne oli tosi ilkeitä koiralle
21) *niin sitten (.) poika katto (.) öö puun sisältä* BEH poika katto puun sisältä
22) *mut siellä oli pöllö* REL siellä oli pöllö
23) *ja sitten (.) koira meni poi (.) juoksi pois mehiläisist* MAT koira juoksi pois mehiläisistä
24) *sitten poika kiipes (.) tohon mäken (.) päälle* MAT poika kiipes mäken päälle
25) *niin sitteh (.) sitten (.) tota:h (.) sit se (.) ku se oli siel (.) se meni puskaan*
REL se oli siel
MAT se meni puskaan
26) *hh ja sitten (.) kun se meni puskaan (.) siellä oli hirvi* REL siellä oli hirvi
27) *ja se kantas sitä ja heitti sen veteen* MAT [se]1 kantas sitä
MAT Ø1 heitti sen veteen
28) *ja sitteh ne tik (.) kun ne (.) pulas tonne: veteen niin (.) sit siit tuli iso: (.) iso: platsau:s (.) platsaus*
MAT ne pulas veteen
REL siit tuli iso platsaus
29) *sitte ku (.) toi poika (.) kuuli jotai (.) taa (.) takana (.)niin sitte koira ja se poika (.)katto sinne*
MENT poika kuuli jotai
BEH koira ja se poika katto sinne
30) *ja sit ne (.) näki tota: (.) noi sammakon äiti ja (.) iso (.) iso: (.) iso+poika*
MENT ne näki noi sammakon äiti
31) *ni sitten ken se anto kaikki (.) sammakot leikkiin (.) niin sitte poika ja koira näki mo (.) yhdet sen oman sammakon*
MAT se anto kaikki sammakot leikkiin
MENT poika ja koira näki sen oman sammakon
32) *niin sitten (.) ne sano hei hei (.) tolle: (.) äitisammakolle ja iskäsammakolle*
VERB se sano hei hei
33) *noih* -V

Narrations 33–34/36

C:

1) *once upon a time there was a boy who had a dog*
REL there was a boy
REL who had a dog
2) *an' they have a frog* REL they have a frog
3) *and they take care of the their frog very much then* BEH they take care of their frog
4) *he waited when his mamma took the frog out of there* BEH he waited

	MAT his mamma took the frog out of there
5) *when he was sleeping (.) his the frog jumped out of the (.) jar*	BEH he was sleeping
	MAT the dog jumped out of the jar
6) *and then when he wake up (.) he was very scared that where was (.) the frog*	BEH when he wake up
	REL he was scared
	REL where was the frog
7) *he look under his boot and (.) outside of the window*	BEH he look under his boot
8) *then the dog fell out with the jar*	MAT the dog fell out
9) *an' he braked the jar*	MAT he braked the jar
10) *dei+didnd aaahh*	-

S: *you're doing good you're doing good*

C:

11) *they shouted (.) where was the frog*	VERB they shouted
	REL where was the frog
12) *they looked everywhere*	BEH they looked everywhere
13) *they digged holes (.) but they didn't find him*	MAT they digged holes
	REL they didn't find him
14) *the dog braked the beehive and then bee were very angry*	MAT the dog braked the beehive
	REL the bee were very angry
15) *an' then (.) the boy looked to tree*	BEH the boy looked to tree
16) *an' there was owl*	REL there was an owl
17) *the owl (.)went to (.) fla flew away*	MAT the owl flew away
18) *and the boy (.) climbed to a rock an' then he picked some sticks*	MAT the boy climbed to a rock
	MAT he picked some sticks
19) *and then de (.) they wasn't (.) they weren't sticks*	REL they weren't sticks
20) *it was a moose*	REL it was a moose
21) *the moose (.) take take the boy (.) and push dem to the water*	MAT [the moose]1 take the boy
	MAT Ø1 push dem to the water
22) *bu' i i' was just not deep water (.) i' was just*	REL it was not deep water
23) *an' there was a lo:g next to him*	REL there was a lo:g
24) *an' then he dig d dig creep (.) out of (.) the lake*	MAT he creep out of the lake
25) *an' there was the two fro:gs*	REL there was the two fro:gs
26) *and den de (.) dey 'aid good bye to the fro:gs*	VERB dey 'aid [said] good bye to the fro:gs

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C:

1) *Olipa kerran poika kellä oli koira ja sammakko (.) jolla oli purkissa sammakko*	
	REL olipa kerran poika
	REL kellä oli koira ja sammakko
	REL jolla oli purkissa sammakko
2) *ja sitten (.) ne hoiti sitä hyvin*	BEH ne hoiti sitä
3) *kun(.) kun he meni nukkumaan (.) sammakko (.) hyppäsi ulos mm purkista*	MAT [he]1 meni BEH Ø1 "<u>nukku</u>"
	MAT sammakko hyppäsi ulos purkista
4) *sitten hän (.) kun hän heräsi (.) niin (.) hän oli kadonnut*	BEH hän heräsi
	REL hän oli kadonnut

5) *hän katsoi (.) kengistään ja (.) ulos ikkunasta*	BEH hän katsoi kengistään
6) *sitten koira putosi ikkunasta ja (.) rikkoi purkin*	MAT [koira]2 putosi ikkunasta MAT Ø2 rikkoi purkin
7) *hän meni m metsään ja (.) m huuti siellä (.) missä sinä o:le:t*	MAT [hän]3 meni metsään VERB Ø3 huuti siellä REL missä sinä olet
8) *he he (.) he kaivoivat koloja ja sit siellä oli (.) eläimiä ja sit mä hh*	MAT he kaivoivat koloja REL siellä oli eläimiä
9) *ja koira katsoi (.) öm yhh*	-
10) *ja sitten hän rikkoi (.) öm ampiaisenpesä'*	MAT hän rikkoi ampiaisenpesä'
11) *poika kattoi puuv+välistä*	BEH poika kattoi puuv+välistä
12) *siellä oli (.) pöllö kuka no (.) kuka työnsi sen alas*	REL siellä oli pöllö MAT kuka työnsi sen alas
13) *sitte poika (.) juoksi pois*	MAT poika juoksi pois
14) *hän piti (.) kepeistä: (.) ettei hän tippunut*	MAT [hän]4 piti kepeistä MAT ettei hän tippunut
15) *ja huusi sammakko missä sinä olet*	VERB Ø4 ja huusi sammakko REL missä sinä olet
16) *se ei ollukkaa keppejä*	REL se ei ollukkaa keppejä
17) *siinä oli poro*	REL siinä oli poro
18) *ja poro vei hänet nn suolle*	MAT[poro]5 vei hänet suolle
19) *ja tiputti hänet (.) ja koiran*	MAT Ø5 tiputti hänet ja koiran
20) *onneksi ei ollu (.) syvää vettä (.)oli vaa matalaa*	REL ei ollu syvää [vettä]6 REL oli vaa matalaa Ø6
21) *siellä olih (.) puu (.) kaatunu+puu (.) juuri hänen vieressään*	REL siellä olih kaatunu puu
22) *he röömivät hiljaa (.) sem+puun yli*	MAT [he]6 röömivät sem+puun yli
23) *ja löysivät sammakon*	REL Ø6 löysivät sammakon
24) *ja nyt+hem+meni kotii ja heippasivat sammakoita*	MAT [he]7+meni kotii BEH Ø7 heippasivat sammakoita

Narrations 35–36/36

C:	
4) *mmm dat (.) one night de bro (.) the frog went away*	MAT the frog went away
5) *and denh (.) de frog uh (.)like de (.) boy was (.) a looking at the jar*	BEH de boy was looking at the jar
6) *den he said oh no (.) d cos de frog was away*	VERB he said oh no REL de frog was away
7) *an' denh (.) eem (.) wait a minute whas what was on de second page*	-
S: *you can look at the pages it's ok*	
C:	
8) *it was like*	-
9) *den de boy c (.) ee put his shirt on*	MAT de boy put his shirt on
10) *and (.) he an' de dog looked into de jar*	BEH he an' de dog looked into de jar
11) *an'+den de (.) de (.) boy opened a window*	MAT de boy opened a window

12) *an' den he shouted (.) where is his frog*	VERB he shouted REL where is his frog
13) *an' den de dog fell an' broke de jar*	MAT [de dog]1 fell MAT Ø1 broke de jar
14) *an' den deh (.) boy was angry*	REL deh boy was angry
15) *den (.) de dog saw some beez*	MENT de dog saw some beez
16) *and da (.) aah dah boy shouted for his frog*	VERB dah boy shouted for his frog
17) *an' den de dog tried to catch de beez*	MAT de dog tried to catch de beez
18) *and he looked into the hole*	BEH he looked into the whole
19) *and den de bo (.) dog did climbing to da tree and tried to catch de beez*	MAT de dog did climbing to da tree
20) *and den (.) de boy had a stinky*	REL de boy had a stinky
21) *what is it like the myyrä '*mole'	-

S: *mmm*
C:

22) *an' thenh (.) de beez were following the de dog 'coz (.) dah he dropped the dah (.) where dey live (.) like*	MAT de beez were following the de dog MAT he dropped the where BEH they live like
23) *an den (.) aa the boy climb+in de tree (.) to see if dere is the frog*	MAT[the boy]2 climb+in de tree MENT Ø2 "<u>saw</u>" REL dere is the frog
24) *but there was an owel an den he dropt (.) from the tree*	REL there was an owel MAT he dropt from the tree
25) *and de dog was running away from de beez*	MAT de dog was running away

S: *mmm*
C:

26) *and then de owel hitted+him on de head*	MAT de owel hitted+him on de head
27) *and den he climb on dah rock and shouted for his frog*	MAT [he]2 climb on dah rock VERB Ø2 shouted for his frog
28) *den (.) de reindeer lifted him*	MAT de reindeer lifted him
29) *an' den dey walked (.) w somewhere*	MAT dey walked somewhere
30) *and de dog was dere*	REL de dog was dere
31) *and den (.) de' dropt into+dah water*	MAT de dropt into+dah water
32) *and de dog like just walked like with his head like dis (.) to dah water*	MAT de dog walked
33) *and he didn't see 'cos he fall*	MENT he didn't see MAT 'cos he fall
34) *and den de boy falled (.) from the reindeer*	MAT de boy falled from the reindeer
35) *and den (.) de (.) de dog was on de (.) boy and de h de boy's head went to de water*	REL de dog was on de boy MAT de boy's head went to de water
36) *and dey were sitting on de water*	MAT dey were sitting on de water
37) *and de dog was sitting on the boy's head*	MAT de dog was sitting
38) *den (.) he said shhh to de dog (.) dah boy*	VERB he said shhh
39) *and den dey climbed over (.) dah (.) da tree+trunk*	MAT dey climbed over dah tree+trunk
40) *and dey founded dah frog*	REL dey founded dah frog
41) *and den (.) dey went with his frog into hh his hh de boy's home*	MAT dey went into de boy's home
42) *and dat's de end*	REL dat's de end
43) *it's pretty funny 'coz here's the little frog*	-

C:

1)	*kerran oli poika (.) joka halus äh (.) löyt (.) se sam eikun*	REL kerran oli poika
2)	*kerran yällä (.) oo (.) se sammakko meni yällä (.) pois (.) kodiin (.) seh (.) sens kotiin*	MAT se sammakko meni yällä pois
3)	*ja sitten aamulla (.) se poika ka(.) kattoi sinne (.) tänne mä en tiedä sitä mut enklanniks ainakim+mä tiedän et'+se on jar*	BEH se poika kattoi sinne

S: *joo se om+purkki*

C:

4)	*ja sielä se ei ollu se (.) ääh (.) sammakko*	REL sielä ei ollu se sammakko
5)	*ja sitten se sanoi o (.) ei: (.)no mitä se oli (.) ou nou oli:*	VERB se sanoi ei:

S: *voi ei*

C:

6)	*voi ei*	-
7)	*ja sitte se pisti sem+paidan päälle ja sitte se (.) avasi ilka ikkunan ja se huu*	MAT se pisti sem+paidan päälle MAT se avasi ikkunan
8)	*eiku se kattoi sinne paidan sisään*	BEH se kattoi sinne paidan sisään
9)	*ja sitten se huusi (.) sille sammakolle*	VERB se huusi sille sammakolle
10)	*ja se: (.) sillä koiralla oli toi (.) joku purkki (.) sem päällä*	REL koiralla oli purkki sem+päällä
11)	*jaa sit se koira tipahti (.) ja rikkos tota (.) öö purkkii*	MAT [se]1 koira tipahti MAT Ø1 rikkos purkkii
12)	*ja se poika oli suuttuneet*	REL poika oli suuttuneet
13)	*ja se koira nauras sitä poikaa*	BEH se koira nauras sitä poikaa
14)	*ja sitten toi koira näi hyttys (.) hyttysiä*	MENT toi koira näi [näki] hyttysiä
15)	*ja se halus mennä niille koska se oli suuttunet sille*	MENT[se]2 halus MATØ 2 "meni" niille REL se oli suuttunet sille
16)	*ja sitten (.) toi poika huusi sen sammakolle*	VERB toi poika huusi sen sammakolle
17)	*ja sitten (.) toi koira yritti saada ne hyttyset*	REL toi koira yritti saada ne hyttyset
18)	*ja toi (.) p poi toi poika kattoi jos tuolla (.) kolossa oli (.) öö tota (.) sammakko mut siellä oli myyrä*	BEH toi poika kattoi REL tuolla kolossa oli sammakko REL siellä oli myyrä
19)	*ja (.) koira kattoi jos tuala oli se koira siellä ampiaisem+pesässä mut sielä ei ollu se*	BEH koira kattoi REL tuala oli se koira REL sielä ei ollu se
20)	*vaan siellä vaan oli ampiaisia*	REL siellä vaan oli ampiaisia
21)	*ö se rikkos niiden koti*	MAT se rikkos niiden koti
22)	*ja sitten se meni juoksemaan pakoon*	MAT se meni juoksemaan pakoon
23)	*ja toi (.) öö (.) poika kiipes puuhun ja sitten oli toi (.) öö (.) mikä se oli (.) siellä oli toi owl* 'pöllö'	MAT poika kiipes puuhun REL siellä oli toi owl 'pöllö'

S: *joo pöllö*

C:

24)	*nii pöllö*	-
25)	*ja sitten se tipahti sieltä koska se luuli että siellä oli sammakoita*	MAT se tipahti sieltä

	MENT se luuli
	REL siellä oli sammakoita
26) *ja sitten toi (.) öö (.) juoksi sitä (.) niistä ampioista pakoon se koira*	MAT toi juoksi niistä ampioista pakoon
27) *ja sitten (.) se teki niin näin että se: (.) se: owl (.)se: se pöllö ei tule enää*	MAT se teki näin
	MAT se pöllö ei tule enää
28) *ja sittes+se kiives tonne puuhun*	MAT se kiives tonne kiveen
29) *ja sitten (.) tai siis kiveen*	-
30) *ja sitten tuli: tota: (.) mikä se oli (.) a reindeer* 'peura'	MAT sitte tuli a reindeer 'peura'
S: *mmm peura tai hirvi*	
C:	
31) *nii hirvi (.) ja sitten (.) se hirvi juoksitti sitä (.) mereen*	MAT se hirvi juoksitti sitä mereen
32) *ja site toi koira niin+ku vaan kattoi sitä poikaa (.) ja sitten se tipahti*	BEH toi koira kattoi sitä poikaa
	MAT se tipahti
33) *ja sitten se koira tipahti samaan+aikaan kun toi poika*	MAT se koira tipahti
34) *ja sitten se koira meni sem+pojan päälle*	MAT se koira meni sem+pojan päälle
35) *ja sitten (.) se kiives se koira sem+päähän*	MAT se kiives sem+päähän
36) *ja sitten (.) seh (.) se poika sano shhh koiralle*	VERB se poika sano shhh koiralle
37) *ja sitten ne kiives (.) öö ton puun päältä*	MAT ne kiives
38) *ja sitten ne löysi täysin sammakoita*	REL ne löysi täysin sammakoita
39) *ja sitten ne: (.) otti: sen oman sammakon kotii*	MAT ne otti: sen oman sammakon
40) *ja siitä (.) se (.) tarina loppuu*	REL siitä se tarina loppuu

APPENDIX 4: Permission form

English philology/Logopedics

PERMISSION TO RECORD AND USE VIDEO AND AUDIO MATERIAL

The name of the child participating in the study:
_____

I give the permission for student/researcher _____(name)_____ to record and archive video and audio material. (signature)

The study concerns bilingual children's verb usage in a narrative task.
The data will be collected both in Finnish and in English.

The recorded data may be used for further scientific research, scientific publications and presentations e.g. theses, dissertations and articles.

Privacy protection: all the researchers using the data are and will be bound by professional secrecy (e.g. the name and identity number of the participant will be kept confidential).

I am aware that I am able to cancel this agreement on my request. The person in charge of the recordings and their archiving is Sonja Alantie tel. xxx xxx xxxx

This permission is valid until further notice.

Location and date Signature and name in capital letters

_____ _____

Contact information:

Name:_____

Address:_____

Tel.number:_____E-mail:_____

APPENDIX 5: Questionnaire for parents

QUESTIONNAIRE OF A CHILD'S SPEECH AND LANGUAGE SKILLS

(Please fill in both the English and the Finnish part of this questionnaire)

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

The form was filled in by:_____ date: _____

Name of the child: _____ date of birth: _____

She/he began to make sounds at the age of _____and babble at the age of _____.

She/he said her/his first words at the age of _____and sentences at the age of_____.

Is the child bi/multilingual? Yes __ No__

Parents' native languages: _____

Languages the child uses at home:_____

Does the child use other languages? Where?_____

In which order and at what age has the child started acquiring the languages (if not simultaneously)?

_____

Is one of the child's languages stronger than the others? Which one?

_____

In which countries has the child lived in and when?

_____

Siblings' dates of birth:_____

Child's hobbies (How many times a week?):_____

Has there been anything special in your child's speech and language development? /Other considerations or observations?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

INSTRUCTIONS (© Anne Suvanto) translation: Sonja Alantie

This questionnaire contains claims that depict a child's language skills and competence of verbal expression. The aim is to learn the parents' estimate on how their child communicates with speech in various everyday situations.

Answer the following questions by choosing the number that best corresponds to your opinion of the issue in question.

0 = not able to assess, 1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = often, 4 = usually always

The child

1. greets others (*hello*, *good morning*, *goodbye*, etc.). ___

2. asks and demands e.g. " I want ice cream!", "Give me juice.". ___

3. controls another person's (a child or an adult) actions or behaviour e.g. "Lets play that videogame", "Come to my place". ___

4. tells about her/his emotions e.g.
"I got angry when Andy didn't play with me", "I like bunnies". ___

5. is curious and asks about things she/he has seen and heard e.g.
"What's that sound?", "Where did Mom go?", "Why has a cat got a tail? ___

6. repeats jokes, stories or rhymes she/he has heard. ___

7. makes up jokes, stories or rhymes. ___

8. is able to tell about past events intelligibly
e.g. what she/he had done on summer vacation or at day care. ___

9. uses clear impressions when talking about future plans,
e.g. "tomorrow" or "when I grow up". ___

10. confuses the order of the events when telling a story or when describing a resent event. For example if the child describes a movie she/he may talk about its ending before its beginning.

___

11. often uses indirect ways of expressing thing, e.g. instead of saying *rhinoceros* she/he may say “the animal with a horn on its nose.” ___

12. confuses words that are close to each other in meaning, e.g. may call a chair *table*. ___

13. makes grammatical errors e.g. says ”Boy see girl” when she/he is supposed to say “A boy sees a girl”. ___

14. talks like a younger child e.g. calls a rabbit ”wabbit”, a shoe ”oo” or a ship ”shlip”. ___

15. is able to categorise things, e.g. talks about *fruit* meaning apples, bananas and oranges or *toys* meaning a teddy, a toy car and a ball. ___

16. is able to describe the purpose of use of an item, e.g. ”You drink out of a cup.” ___

17. is not able to express her/himself clearly, e.g. says ”that there” instead of saying “a kettle”. ___

18. produces long and complex sentences such as ” When we went to the park I saw a big truck.” ___

*

OHJEET (© Anne Suvanto)

Tämä kyselykaavake sisältää väitteitä, jotka kuvaavat lapsen puheilmaisun tasoa ja kielen käyttöä. Kyselyn tarkoituksena on saada vanhempien arvio siitä, miten heidän lapsensa kommunikoi puheensa avulla arkipäivän erilaisissa tilanteissa.

Voitte vastata seuraaviin väitteisiin alla olevan ohjeen mukaan. Merkitkää väitteen kohdalle se numero, joka mielestänne parhaiten vastaa arviotanne kyseisestä asiasta.

0 = en osaa arvioida, 1 = ei koskaan, 2 = harvoin, 3 = usein, 4 = yleensä aina

1. Lapsi tervehtii toisia (hei-hei, päivää, näkemiin jne.). ___

2. Lapsi pyytää ja vaatii, esim. ”Haluan karkkia”, ”anna ruokaa”. ___

3. Lapsi ohjaa toisen henkilön (aikuisen tai lapsen) käyttäytymistä, esim. ” Pelataan sitä noppapeliä”, ”Tule meille kylään”. ___

4. Lapsi kertoo tunteistaan, esim. ”Minua suututtaa kun Ville ei tullut leikkimään”, ”Tykkään jäätelöstä”. ___

5. Lapsi on utelias ja kyselee asioita näkemästään ja kuulemastaan, esim. ”Mikä tuo ääni on?”, ”Minne äiti meni?”, ”Miksi kissalla on häntä? ___

6. Lapsi toistaa kuulemiaan vitsejä, satuja tai loruja. ___

7. Lapsi keksii itse vitsejä, tarinoita, satuja tai loruja. ___

8. Lapsi osaa kertoa menneistä tapahtumista ymmärrettävästi, esim. mitä teki päiväkodissa tai kesälomalla. ___

9. Lapsi kertoo selkeästi siitä, mitä aikoo tehdä tulevaisuudessa, esim. ”huomenna” tai ”isona”. ___

10. Lapsi sekoittaa tapahtumien järjestyksen tarinaa kertoessaan tai kuvaillessaan äsken tapahtunutta asiaa. Esimerkiksi jos kuvailee filmiä, saattaa puhua lopusta ennen alkua. ___

11. Lapsi käyttää usein kiertoilmauksia, esim. sarvikuonon sijaan saattaa sanoa: ”Se eläin, jolla on sarvi päässä”. ___

12. Lapsi sekoittaa merkitykseltään toisiaan lähellä olevia sanoja, esim. voi sanoa tuolia pöydäksi. ___

13. Lapsi tekee kielioppivirheitä, esim. sanoo: ”Poika näki tyttö”, vaikka pitäisi sanoa: ”Poika näki tytön”. ___

14. Lapsi puhuu ikäistään nuoremman tavoin, esim. käyttää kirjasta nimeä kiija”, kissasta ”kitta” ja pyörästä ”pöölä”. ___

15. Lapsi osaa luokitella asioita, esim. puhuu hedelmistä tarkoittaessaan omenia, banaaneja ja appelsiineja tai leluista tarkoittaessaan nallea, leikkiautoa ja palloa. ___

16. Lapsi osaa kuvata esineen ja sen käyttötarkoituksen, esim. ”Mukista juodaan”. ___

17. Lapsi ei pysty ilmaisemaan itseään tarkasti, esim. sanoo ”tuo tuossa” sen sijaan että sanoisi ”kattila”. ___

18. Lapsi tuottaa pitkiä ja monimutkaisia lauseita, kuten ”Kun me mentiin puistoon, niin mä keinuin”. ___

References/Lähteet: Bishop, D. (2003). The Children’s Communication Checklist, CCC-2, Halliday, M.(1975). Learning how to mean – explorations in the development of language, Leiwo, M.(1987). Lapsen kielen kehitys